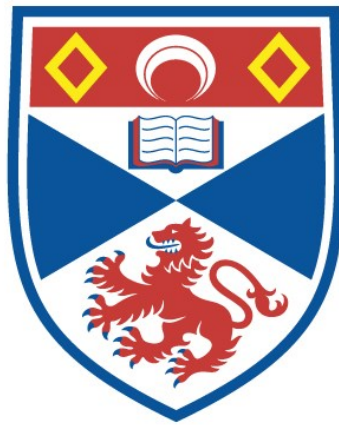


**ADMINISTRATION ON THE ESTATES OF
HUMPHREY STAFFORD, DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM
1402-1460**

Rosemary A. Story

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



1973

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ADMINISTRATION ON THE ESTATES
OF HUMFREY STAFFORD, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM
1402 - 1460

by
Rosemary A. Story

Dissertation presented in application
for the degree of Ph.D. in the
Department of Medieval History
in the University of St Andrews

St Andrews 1973



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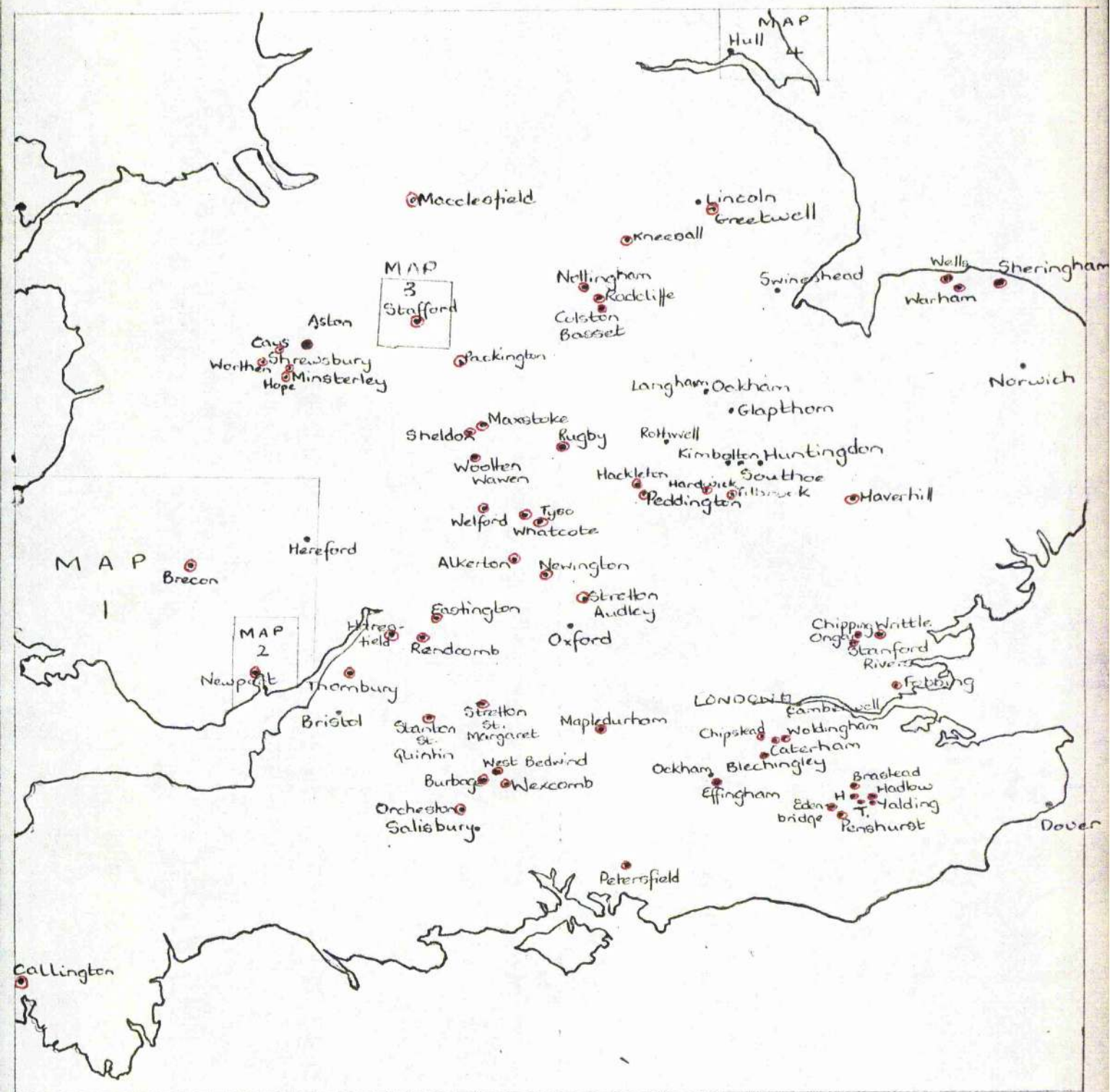
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Map 2 : the Lordship of Newport

Map 3 : Manors in Staffordshire

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Map showing the main manors held by Stafford



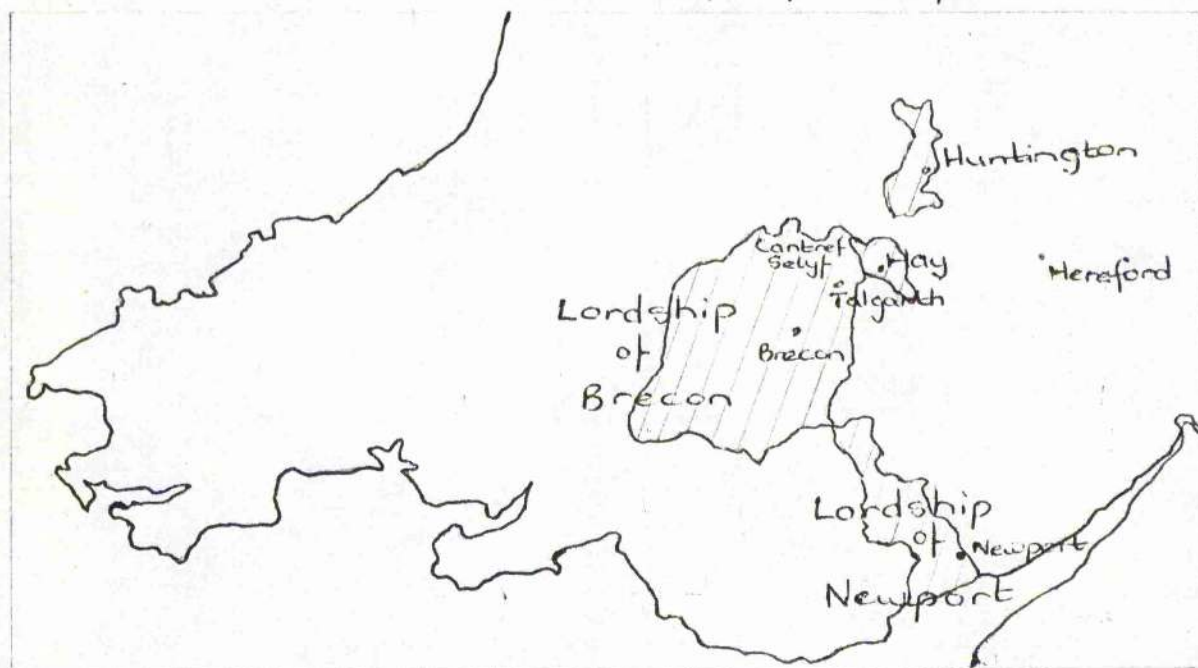
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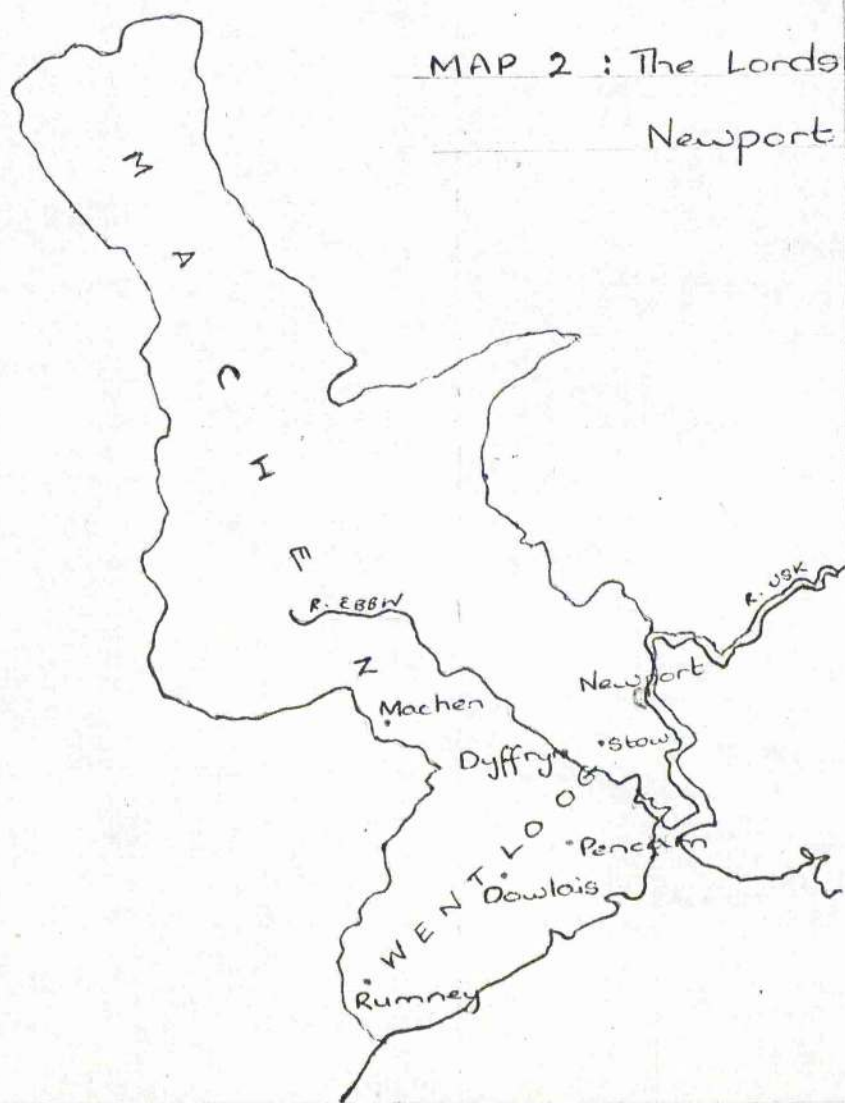
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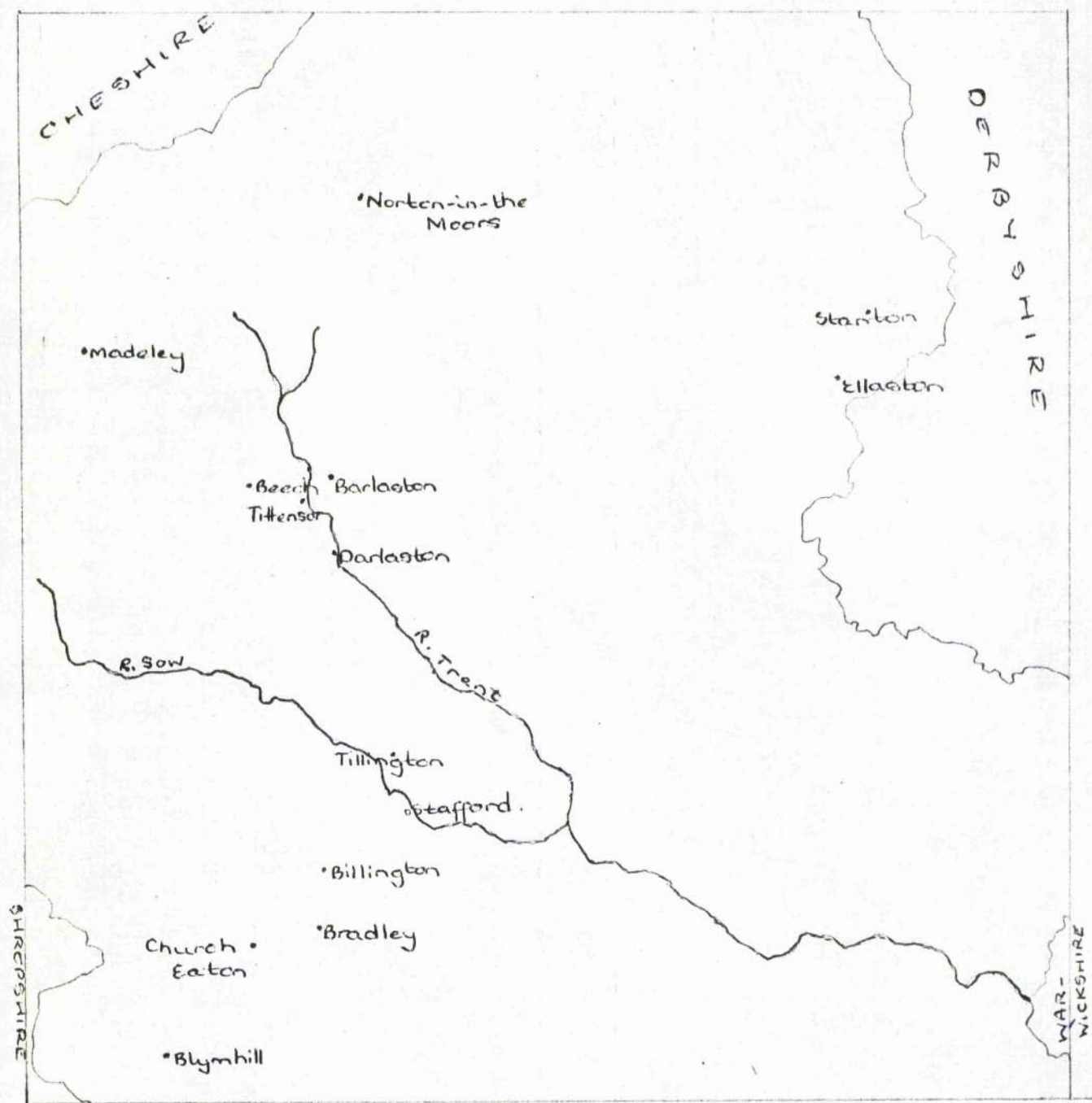
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MAP 2 : The Lordship of
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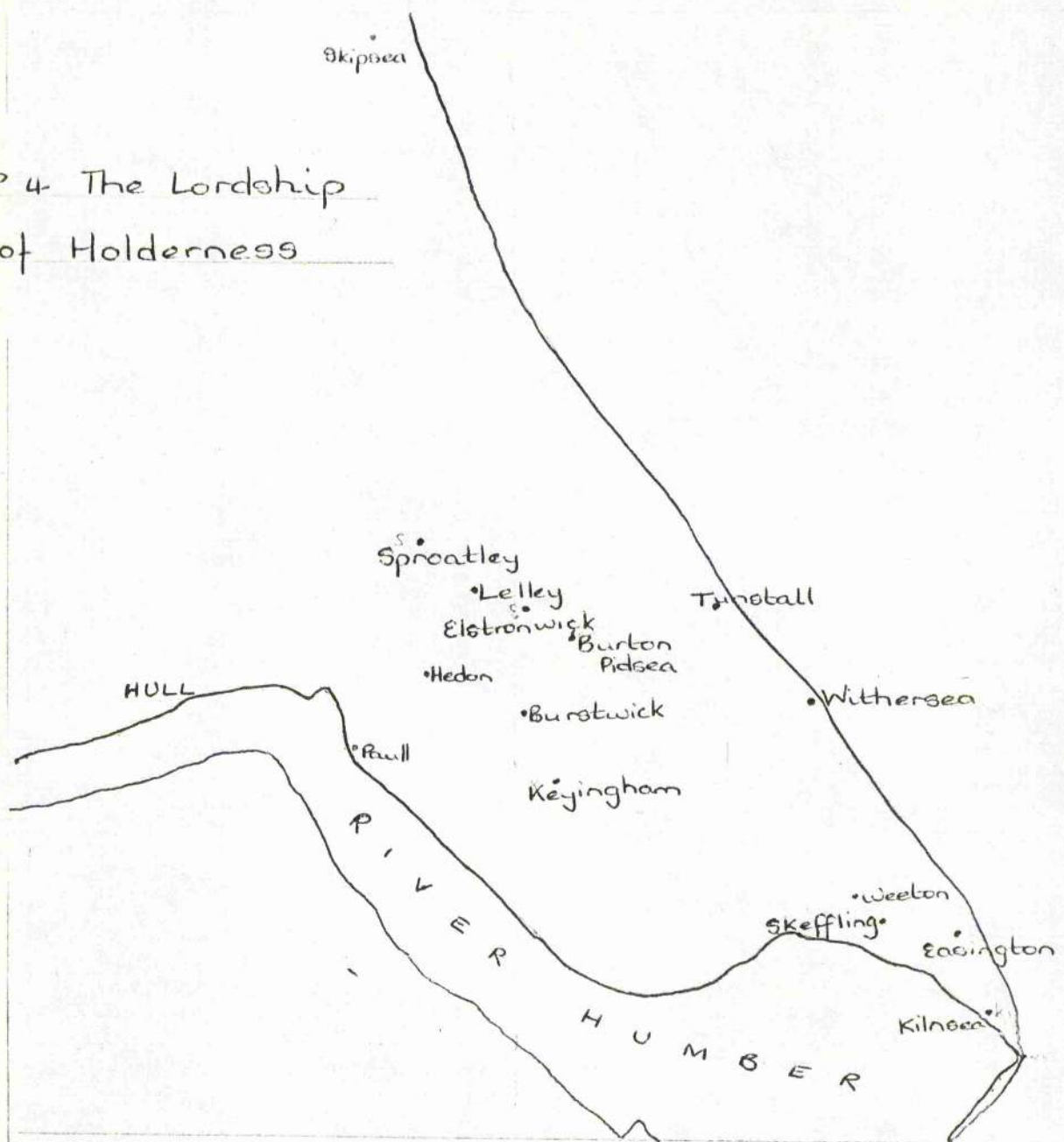


MAP 3. Moors in Staffordshire



— boundary of Staffordshire

MAP 4 The Lordship
of Holderness



SYNOPSIS

The purpose of this work is to describe the system of administration which existed on the estates of a magnate of the fifteenth century, using mainly the estate records, the accounts, as source materials. To set the period and the estates themselves in context, the first two chapters have been devoted to a consideration of the life and career of the magnate, Humfrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, and to a description of the estates, their history and their extent. The various types of accounts themselves as working documents are then described. From them it is possible to build up a picture of the estate administration based on the units of the manor or village and the receivership, and the scope and importance of the Receiver-General and the Auditor. The actual work of the manorial officers, the receivers and the auditors is also dealt with insofar as the running of the estates is concerned. Following from the organization of the administration of extensive estates is the secondary consideration of the men who ran the estates, their origins, their connexions with Stafford, their use to Stafford outwith the purely routine affairs of administration and their expectations of advancement within his service. As far as is possible, a study is made of these men and of the men who were supported from the estates by retaining fees, in order to discover their political importance to Stafford, and whether he used them as a means of increasing his own influence and power in national or local politics. These points are covered in the two final chapters and the conclusion.

Mrs. Rosemary A. Storey (formerly Miss Green), M.A.,
undertook and completed the research for the accompanying
Ph. D. thesis from October 1967 to February 1973. She was
admitted as a research student under Ordinance no.12 in
October 1967 and as a candidate for the Degree of Ph. D. under
University Court Resolution, 1967, No.1 in June 1968.

(Signed)

12 February 1973.

Supervisor

I declare that this thesis has been composed by me,
that the work of which it is a record has been done by me,
and that it has not been accepted in any previous application
for a higher degree.

(Signed)

12 February 1973.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to express my thanks to Lord Swynnerton for allowing me to make use of the documents of the Stafford Collection deposited in the Stafford Record Office, and to the Marquess of Bath for allowing me to consult documents among the muniments at Longleat House.

List of Abbreviations

BIHR : Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research
BJRL : Bulletin of John Rylands Library
BM Add. MS : British Museum Additional Manuscript
BM Add. Ch. : British Museum Additional Charters
CHJ : Cambridge Historical Journal
CMH : Cambridge Medieval History
Cal. Ch. Rolls : Calendar of Charter Rolls
Cal. Close Rolls : Calendar of Close Rolls
Cal. Fine Rolls : Calendar of Fine Rolls
Cal. Papal Letters : Calendar of Papal Letters
Cal. Pat. Rolls : Calendar of Patent Rolls
CPL : Cardiff Public Libraries
DNB : Dictionary of National Biography
EHR : English Historical Review
EcHR : Economic History Review
GEC : The Complete Peerage, ed. G.E. Cokayne
Glam. R.O. : Glamorganshire Record Office, Cardiff
NLW : National Library of Wales
PBA : Proceedings of the British Academy
PCC : Prerogative Court of Canterbury
PL : Paston Letters
PRO : Public Record Office, London
Rot.Parl. : Rotuli Parliamentorum
SRO : Staffordshire Record Office
Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc. : Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society
TRHS : Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
VCH : Victoria County Histories of England
William Salt Arch. Soc. : William Salt Archaeological Society

I N T R O D U C T I O N

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, increasing attention has been paid to Receivers' and ministers' accounts as source materials for political and economic history, for providing information on the economic position and problems of great landowners in relation to the development of central government and political power. This is especially true for the fifteenth century when the monarchy was weak and a small number of great magnates was taking a large share of the work and authority of government. Less attention has been given to these financial records as sources of information for the administrative organization of the large estates. This is mainly because accounts do not usually survive in sufficient numbers or with the continuity necessary for providing a valid or meaningful picture of estate administration at work. Some research has been done on this subject, however,¹ especially for the Duchy of Lancaster, which is of especial importance as it would appear that administration on great estates by the fifteenth century was, to a large extent, modelled on the Duchy system, although the actual degree of imitation is unknown.

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1. N. Denholm-Young, Seignorial Administration in England (Oxford 1937), for the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries; G. Holmes, The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth-Century England (Cambridge 1957); C.D. Ross and R.B. Pugh, "Some materials for the study of baronial incomes in the fifteenth century," ECHR VI (1953-54), 185-94; J.M.W. Bean, The Estates of the Percy Family 1416-1537 (Oxford 1958); C.D. Ross, The Estates and Finances of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Dugdale Society Occasional Papers No. XII (Oxford 1956); R.H. Hilton, Introduction to The Ministers' Accounts of the Warwickshire Estates of the Duke of Clarence 1479-80, Dugdale Society Occasional Papers No. XXI (Oxford 1952); J. Rosenthal, "The estates and finances of Richard Duke of York, 1411-60," Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History II (University of Nebraska Press 1965), 115-204; R. Somerville, The Duchy of Lancaster 1265-1603 (London 1953).

Work on private administration is of considerable value. The great magnates derived power and influence as well as revenue from their estates. The more efficiently a magnate could administer and exploit the material resources of his lands, the greater was his potential for personal influence within the government at both central and local levels. The purposes of administration were, in effect, three-fold: the collection of revenue and the general maintenance of the estates; the carrying out of mutual obligations between lord and tenant (i.e. the exaction of rents and other dues in return for justice and protection); and the dissemination of influence and prestige by local officials on the lord's behalf. The fifteenth century was the age of bastard feudalism when the monarchy was weak and men looked to the magnates for protection in return for serving them in war or peace. Widespread estates meant widespread local influence, the means to attract and support large numbers of retainers. To use and safeguard his resources properly a magnate needed a highly developed and efficient administrative machine staffed by trusted and competent men in charge of all aspects of the work and usually working with a minimum of personal supervision.

Humfrey Stafford, Earl of Stafford, Buckingham, Hereford and Northampton, was one of these great landed magnates of the fifteenth century.¹ Related by blood to Henry VI and Richard of York, and by marriage to the great Neville clan, he played a part, albeit rather an obscure one at times, in the main events of Henry VI's reign and the opening years of the Wars of the Roses. The basis of his position was his estates, most of them inherited, scattered through England and the Welsh March and providing men and money. Fortunately, comparatively large numbers of records

1. As Humfrey Stafford's title changed from Earl of Stafford to Duke of Buckingham in 1444, he has been referred to throughout this work by his family name of Stafford, for simplicity and consistency.

of various types survive as the product of his highly organized estate administration, especially for the period 1438-60, after the inheritance of his mother's estates made him the greatest English landowner after Richard of York. There are of course great gaps in the survival of the accounts; there is, for instance, very little information for Holderness, his most valuable English lordship, or for Cause, the smallest and least valuable. From the records which do survive, however, it is possible to build up a fairly detailed picture of the structure and working of the administration, the men who ran it, the records they produced, its relative cost and efficiency, as well as obtaining information on the size and importance of Stafford's retinue.

There are of course limitations in the value of financial records used for this purpose. The accounts form nothing like a complete or continuous series. Conclusions which can be drawn on the basis of some accounts are either unsubstantiated or perhaps invalidated for other parts of the estates, either because of missing records or of local peculiarities. The accounts themselves are the working documents of the estates officials and not designed to provide a picture for the administrative system as a whole or a treatise on administrative policy. Some information about administration is obtained from records where the information is included only by chance or is of secondary importance. Fifteenth-century private administration is shadowy at best. There are rarely bold innovations made and if there are, steps are often taken to disguise the novelty of the measure. Bureaucracy and administrators were necessary and tolerated, but usually content to remain anonymous.

It was the men at the centre of the administration — the estates officials — who formed the solid core of Stafford's retinue. They were mostly local men, often professional administrators, and prominent in local politics. These officials, local squires or knights rather than

soldiers, lawyers and courtiers, provided the foundation of and background to Stafford's position and influence in the shires. Many had served his family for generations, providing Receivers, stewards, feodaries, and a host of minor officials to direct the administration. The accounts, essentially impersonal documents, are of little use in piecing together details of the careers of such men which in most cases can be supplemented from other sources. Some of these officials remain merely names, and few were directly concerned with political events on a national level, but as a class they ran local affairs as sheriffs, justices, commissioners and Members of Parliament. Many owed their local prominence to their service with the Stafford family.

It is impossible to get full information of Stafford's own interest or participation in his administration, or even to trace his itinerary round his estates in any one year, but the indications are that he did not, or could not, devote a great deal of his time to the management of his estates. Unfortunately, it is also difficult to get much information about the members of his council, his deputies in the management of the affairs of his estates, "the central and ^{the} most elusive part of bastard feudalism".¹ The composition of the council probably varied according to the business in hand, but as a central advisory body it was closely connected with the estates and it is likely that estates officials played an important and central part in it.

Knowledge of fifteenth-century politics and society may be broadened and enhanced by a study of the often reticent and self-directing machinery which financed the great public figures of the day. The purpose of this work therefore is to provide a survey of estate administration, and the men who directed it, on the estates of a great fifteenth-

1. Holmes, Estates of the Higher Nobility, p. 76. ✓

century magnate, based as far as possible on the records produced by that administration. It is not intended as a political history or a biographical study of Humfrey Stafford, although as little work has as yet been done on the Stafford family, or Humfrey Stafford himself, it has seemed necessary and useful to introduce the work with a brief account of the rise of the family to prominence and of the career and importance of Stafford against the background of the last years of the Lancastrian dynasty. Also, although discussion of the retinue proper — soldiers, lawyers and courtiers rather than estate officials — belongs more to a political survey than to administration of the estates, these men did figure on the accounts and form part of the estate administration, for the allocation and payment of fees and annuities. As Stafford's counsellors, they also had a certain part to play in policy-making and the running of the estates, and as such they have been included here.

CHAPTER ONE

Humfrey Stafford, sixth earl of Stafford, first Stafford duke of Buckingham, was a member of a family which had risen to prominence in the seventy years preceding his birth in 1402 through its service to the monarchy, and in particular to Edward III (1327-77). The family itself was an ancient one, established in the West Midlands shortly after William of Normandy's conquest by Robert de Toeni (d. c.1088), younger son of a family already prominent in Duchy politics and high in favour with Duke William. There is no evidence that Robert was himself at Hastings in 1066 although his elder brother Ralph claimed quittance as William's standard-bearer in order to take his part in the fighting.¹ Robert de Toeni was holding 131 manors in England at the time of the Domesday inquest in 1086, eighty-one of which were in Staffordshire and a further twenty-six in neighbouring Warwickshire. His son Nicholas (d. c.1138) adopted the name de Stafford from that of his chief manor, and for the next two hundred years or so the family concentrated on local interests, marrying into the local gentry, serving the king by knight service when called upon, but always overshadowed by the de Ferrers earls of Derby and the semi-royal earls of Lancaster. In 1193, on the death of Robert II de Stafford, the family died out in the male line, both he and his brother dying on crusade between 1190 and 1192,² and the estates passed to Robert's sister Millicent (d. c.1225) and her husband Harvey

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1. F. Madan, "The Gresleys of Drakelow," William Salt Arch. Soc. I^{N.S.} (1898), 10.
 2. G. Wrottesley, "A history of the Bagot family," William Salt Arch. Soc. XI^{N.S.} (1908), 5.

Bagot (d. 1214). Bagot, a tenant of the de Staffords for three knights' fees in Staffordshire, paid 260 marks relief to have his wife's barony although his elevation to the feudal baronage was apparently greatly resented by many other Staffordshire tenants. Neither Bagot nor his heir, who took his mother's name of de Stafford,¹ were able to collect scutage from their tenants and had to call upon the king for help. For several years scutage was collected by the sheriff.² Nicholas II de Stafford (d. 1287) attracted the attention of Edward I by his service in the Welsh campaigns of 1277-87 and it was his son Edmund (1273-1308) who, in 1299, was the first member of the family to be summoned by writ to attend Parliament.³

It was during the lifetime of Edmund's son Ralph (1301-72) that the family emerged from its obscurity among the lesser baronage. Ralph de Stafford had livery of his inherited estates in December 1323, after a fourteen-year-long minority, and probably first won the favour of the young King Edward III in the Scottish Campaign of 1327. By 1330 he was a member of the inner circle of advisers around the King in his successful attempt to overthrow the minority government of Roger Mortimer and Queen Isabella.⁴ In 1340 he had become Steward of the Royal Household and

1. A younger son, William de Stafford (d. 1252/8) founded the cadet line of Stafford of Sandon and Bramshall. His great-great-grandsons married back into the main branch of the family. James (1300-c.1356) married a daughter of Edmund, Lord Stafford, and John (b. c.1302) married, as his second wife, a daughter of Ralph, Lord Stafford. John's sons founded the lines of Stafford of Southwick and of Grafton (J. Wedgwood, "A Parliamentary history of Staffordshire: I. 1213-1603," William Salt Arch. Soc. (1917-19), 9, 52, 76). See p 345

2. Wrottesley, "History of the Bagot family," p. 6. One tenant of two knights' fees, Robert de Somerville, refused to pay homage to Harvey Bagot and transferred his tenure bodily to the de Ferrers earls of Derby.

3. The Complete Peerage, Vol. 12, pt. 1, ed. G.E. Cokayne and G.H. White (London 1953), p. 173.

4. Wedgwood, "Parliamentary history of Staffordshire," p. 58.

eleven years later, in 1348, he was one of the founder members of the new Order of the Garter. He served in the Scottish campaigns of 1332 and 1336-37 and played a leading part in the early stages of the Hundred Years' War with France, becoming Steward of Aquitaine in 1344/5. He was a royal ambassador to France in 1343, 1347 and 1360, to Rome in 1343, to Germany and Flanders in 1343 and to Scotland in 1350. In March 1351, only some fifty-two years after his father was first summoned to Parliament, Ralph was created Earl of Stafford.¹

Ralph Stafford's elevation to the rank of earl was facilitated by his acquisition of the lands and wealth of Margaret d'Audley, whom he married in 1336, Margaret's father, Hugh, Earl of Gloucester, bringing a case of trespass against Ralph in July 1336 alleging that Ralph, his son-in-law Sir John Stafford of Sandon, and various others, had abducted his daughter and that Ralph had married her against his wishes.² Margaret d'Audley was well worth the risk, for through her mother, Margaret de Clare, she was heiress to one-third of the estates of the de Clare earldoms of Gloucester and Hertford, Gilbert de Clare, the last earl, having died without direct heir at Bannockburn in 1314.³ Hugh d'Audley held Margaret de Clare's estates by courtesy of England from 1342 until his own death in November 1347 when they passed to Ralph and his wife. Margaret d'Audley died a few months later, in early 1348, and Ralph in his turn held the estates by courtesy of England for a further twenty-four years, keeping Hugh, his own son by Margaret, out of his inheritance from

1. GEC, Vol. 12, pt. 1, pp. 174-5.

2. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1334-38, p. 298.

3. Margaret de Clare (d. 1342) married d'Audley in 1317, the year in which the estates were partitioned between her and her two sisters. She was the widow of Edward II's favourite, Piers de Gaveston, executed in 1312 (GEC, Vol. 5, ed. V. Gibbs and H.A. Doubleday (London 1926), p. 715).

his mother for nine years, from Hugh's coming of age in 1363 until 1372. The d'Audley marriage however meant that after 1347, the Stafford territorial influence, for the first time, extended beyond the West Midlands into the Welsh March and over the numerous de Clare estates in south and eastern England.

Ralph's daughters from his first marriage in c.1327 to Katherine, daughter of Sir John Hastang of Chebsey, Staffordshire, were all married into important local families: Roos of Hoylake, Charlton of Powys, Lestrangle of Whitchurch, Shropshire, and Stafford of Bramshall.¹ For his sons by Margaret d'Audley he was much more ambitious and arranged marriages into two great magnate families. His elder son Ralph (c.1340-48) was married, as little more than a baby, to Maud, elder daughter and eventual co-heiress of Henry of Grosmont, earl of Lancaster. The young Ralph's early and untimely death meant that when Maud herself died in 1362 the entire vast Lancastrian inheritance passed into the hands of John of Gaunt, son of Edward III, who had married Blanche, the younger co-heiress, in 1359. Ralph Stafford's second son Hugh (c.1342-86), who succeeded him as earl in 1372, was married in c.1365 to Philippa Beauchamp, a daughter of Thomas, earl of Warwick (d. 1369). She was no heiress, but her brother, Thomas, earl of Warwick (c.1338-1401), with whom Hugh fought in France in 1373, was one of the leading magnates of his day, and during this period, until Hugh's death in 1386, the Stafford house was probably closely connected with the Warwick affinity, both Hugh and Warwick, as the king's "continual counsellors", being appointed to the commission of 1376 to confer with the Commons for the reform of the government of the senile Edward III.² Hugh died before King Richard II's difficulties with the Lords Appellant, one of whom was his brother-in-law the earl of Warwick.

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1. W. Dugdale, The Baronage of England, Vol. I (London 1675-76), p. 161.
 2. M. McKisack, The Fourteenth Century (Oxford 1959), p. 389.

In May 1385 Hugh and his heir Ralph, a knight of the Royal Household, accompanied Richard II on his campaign against the Scots and near York Ralph was murdered by Sir John Holland, half-brother to the King. Richard promised that Holland, who had fled into Lancashire, would be dealt with as a common murderer.¹ He was later pardoned, however, and it was agreed that a chantry be set up at Langley for Ralph Stafford, killed "by misadventure".² A few months later Hugh set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He died at Rhodes in September 1386, leaving four young sons, three of whom succeeded him, as minors, as earls of Stafford.³ Hugh himself was in fact the only heir of full age to succeed to the estates in the period 1308-1521. For nearly forty years after Earl Hugh's death, the Stafford family played little part in national affairs. Although two sons, Thomas, the third earl (c.1369-92) and Edmund, the fifth earl (c.1377-1403) both came of age and had livery of the estates for brief periods, the Stafford inheritance was only out of the hands of the king or his nominees for about seven years between 1386 and 1423 when Edmund's son Humfrey, the sixth earl, came of age after the longest minority of all, of nearly twenty years, from July 1403 to February 1423. In all, the estates were in royal wardship for a total of fifty-eight years during the period 1386 until 1498 when

1. J. Froissart, Chronicles of England, France, Spain and the Adjacent Countries, Vol. II, transl. T. Johnes (London 1868), pp. 50-52.

2. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1385-89, pp. 114, 368.

3. In his will, dated 15 April 1386, Hugh left to his heir, Thomas, his "coat of male d'Astere of Naples and his Helmet made at Bourdeaux, with camail d'Astere, together with his sword made at Turenne, which Sir Ralph Ferrers had given him". His three younger sons were to have £100 per annum each from profits of lands in the hands of his feoffees, and his only unmarried daughter, Joan, was to be "well-married". She married Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, in 1392. Hugh's other daughters had married the earl of Suffolk, Michael de la Pole and the future earl of Westmorland, Ralph Neville, Lord of Raby (Dugdale, Baronage, Vol. I, p. 162).

Edward, third duke of Buckingham (1476/1521) came of age.

Yet it was during the period of minorities between 1386 and 1423 that the Staffords, by a combination of good luck and management, were able not only to pass on their estates intact but, as a result of a seemingly unimportant marriage, were able to ensure the pre-eminent position held by Humfrey as sixth earl in the mid-fifteenth century. Richard II granted Earl Thomas control over his estates in 1389, while he was still a minor, the estates since February 1387 having been farmed for 2000 marks to Thomas, his uncles Thomas, earl of Warwick and William Beauchamp, and Lord John Neville of Raby.¹ At the same time, Richard sold Earl Thomas his marriage for 3000 marks, one thousand marks of which was remitted since Thomas agreed to be bound to serve Richard for life.² Formal livery of the estates was granted in October 1390 when Thomas came of age,³ and in 1392 he married Anne, daughter of Thomas, duke of Gloucester, uncle to the king and a former Lord Appellant and ally of Earl Thomas' uncle, the earl of Warwick. Anne was then nine years old. The Stafford-Gloucester alliance was maintained despite Earl Thomas' early death a few months after his marriage. In July 1392 Richard II, while pursuing a policy of conciliation with his enemies, granted the lands and marriage of William Stafford, fourth earl (1375-1395) and then Edmund, fifth earl, to Thomas of Gloucester, who was already administering the dower estates of his daughter, Earl Thomas' widow.⁴ In July 1393 Anne was pardoned 300 of the 1000 marks still outstanding from the marriage settlement of 1389, and in April 1397 Thomas of Gloucester was pardoned the remaining 700 marks which he, as

1. Cal. Fine Rolls 1385-89, p. 173.

2. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1388-92, p. 160.

3. Cal. Close Rolls 1389-92, p. 231.

4. Cal. Fine Rolls 1391-99, p. 54; Cal. Pat. Rolls 1391-96, p. 133.

executor of Thomas of Stafford, was bound to pay to the king.¹ After Gloucester's arrest and death in July 1397, Richard retained the Stafford estates in his own hands until March 18 1399 when Earl Edmund was granted a licence to sue for livery of his estates as being of full age.²

In June 1398 Edmund perpetuated the alliance with the House of Gloucester by marrying Anne, Gloucester's daughter, and his own brother's widow. He was fined for marrying without the royal licence while still a minor and a royal licence granted,³ but presumably a papal dispensation was to be obtained without difficulty as Anne had been only nine years old when her first husband died. The circumstances of Gloucester's trial and conviction would seem to have made this alliance one of dubious political advantage, and although Anne's mother was co-heiress of the great Bohun inheritance, Anne herself was no heiress, having a brother and two sisters alive in 1398. The immediate advantage of the marriage probably lay in the fact that Edmund gained control over the one-third dower interest in the Stafford estates held by Anne since 1393, and could reunite them with the Stafford estates once he came of age and had livery of his own estates. Within two years of the marriage, Anne's circumstances were altered drastically by the deaths of her mother, Eleanor Bohun, and her brother Humfrey, earl of Buckingham, in 1399 and her sister Joan in 1400. In 1402 her second sister Isabel entered a convent and thus, through his wife, Edmund gained control over the whole of Eleanor Bohun's inheritance.⁴

1. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1391-96, p. 304; ibid., 1396-99, p. 111.

2. Ibid., 1396-99, p. 500. The licence was granted on the day on which Richard II seized the Duchy of Lancaster estates, the inheritance of Henry earl of Derby. This action led to Derby's invasion of England in June 1399 and his subsequent claim to the throne.

3. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1396-99, pp. 376, 384.

4. Cal. Fine Rolls 1399-1405, pp. 72, 99, 159-160, 201-2.

Probably as a result of family ties with the Beauchamps and Gloucester, Edmund Stafford threw in his lot with Henry, earl of Derby, against Richard II in the summer of 1399. Immediately after Richard's submission in August, Edmund received a summons to his first Parliament, where he supported Henry's claim to the throne and assented to the imprisonment of Richard II.¹ He remained loyal to Henry IV, dying at the battle of Shrewsbury in July 1403 in command of the front division of Henry's army against the Percies and the Welsh rebels.² His heir, his son Humfrey, aged eleven months, was taken into royal wardship, as was his young daughter Anne.³ His widow Anne, a great heiress in her own right, was reassigned her dower from her marriage to Thomas Stafford and assigned dower from Edmund's estates in October-November 1403,⁴ and granted custody of her Bohun inheritance.⁴⁻⁵ By 1405 she had remarried, her third husband being Sir William Bouchier (1376-1420), created Count of Eu in 1419, a former retainer of her father, Thomas of Gloucester and, since 1401, a retainer of Henry of Monmouth, later Henry V.⁵⁻⁶ By Bouchier Anne had five more children, who included Henry (1405-84), Count of Eu (1420), created Viscount Bouchier in 1446 and earl of Essex in 1461, and Thomas (1406-86), Archbishop of Canterbury from 1454.

Little is known of Humfrey Stafford during the years of his minority. After dower had been assigned to his mother Anne Stafford, Henry IV granted the rest of the Stafford estates, together with Humfrey's marriage,

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1. Rotuli Parliamentorum, Vol. III (London 1767-77), p. 427.
 2. J.H. Wylie, A History of England under Henry IV, Vol. I (London 1898), p. 360.
 3. Anne married (i) in 1415, Edmund Mortimer, earl of March (d. 1425), (ii) in 1427, John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, created duke of Exeter in 1443/4. Anne died in 1443/4 (GEC, Vol. 5, p. 208).
 4. Cal. Close Rolls 1402-05, pp. 212-6, 226-36.
 5. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1399-1401, p. 227; ibid. 1413-16, pp. 91, 120.
 6. Cal. Close Rolls 1402-05, pp. 237-40; Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401-05, pp. 369, 378.

to his Queen, Joan of Navarre, whom he had married in February 1403, as part of her dower.¹ Negotiations for the marriage of the young earl of Stafford were well in hand by 1408 when a papal dispensation was obtained for a marriage to a daughter of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland, by Joan Beaufort, his second wife and half-sister to the king.² Ralph's daughter Eleanor is named in the dispensation, but in 1412 she married Richard Despenser, Lord Burghersh. Humfrey Stafford eventually, in 1424, married Anne Neville, Ralph Neville's fourth daughter by Joan Beaufort. He was then twenty-two and Anne about eighteen years old, both comparatively mature for a fifteenth-century marriage. The marriage was one in the series of brilliant alliances arranged by Neville for these children of his second wife.³ By Anne Neville, Stafford was to have twelve children, seven of whom, including his son and heir Humfrey, Lord Stafford, predeceased him.

The active political career of Humfrey Stafford spans the reign of Henry VI. It began, like that of many of his contemporaries, in France in the service of Henry V, by whom he was knighted in April 1421.^{3a} He was with the king at the time of his death on August 31 1422 at Rouen, and then returned immediately to England to claim livery of his inherited estates promised him, in the presence of witnesses, by King Henry just before his death as a special grant since Stafford was not yet of age.⁴ Stafford did not return to serve in France again until 1430, preferring to concentrate on his English affairs, but in February 1430 he indented to provide a contingent of eighty men at arms and 240 archers for one

1. Cal. Close Rolls 1402-05, pp. 237-40; Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401-05, pp. 369, 378.

2. Calendar of Papal Registers: Papal Letters, Vol. VI (London 1904), pp. 140-1.

3. J.R. Lander, "Marriage and politics in the fifteenth century: the Nevilles and the Woodvilles," BIHR XXXVI (1963), 120-122.

4. Rot. Parl., Vol. IV, p. 195.

^{3a} Dugdale, Baronage, p. 165

year from the date of departure.¹ In April 1430, with many other peers, he accompanied the young Henry VI and a large army to Calais to help the duke of Bedford against the forces of Joan of Arc. He was absent from England for nearly two years, for he acquitted himself well under Bedford's command, becoming Governor of Paris and Constable of France from August 1430² until January 1431 when he was appointed Lieutenant-General of Normandy, an office which he held until his return to England in early 1432.³ During the year 1431 he was created Count of Perche by Henry VI and in December 1431 he carried the sword of state at the coronation of Henry as King of France in Paris. He returned again to France at the head of a contingent of eighty knights and 523 archers, indented for one month in August 1436.⁴ This army was intended for the relief of Calais and commanded by Humfrey, duke of Gloucester. Stafford was not a professional soldier, however, and returned to France after 1436 only in the capacity of ambassador for truces in the Anglo-French war or as Captain of the English-held Calais.

Stafford was twenty years old when the minority council of Henry VI's government was set up in November 1422, with Humfrey, duke of Gloucester, as Protector and Defender of the realm. His name first appears among the list of councillors in February 1424;⁵ he was resworn in March 1426 and in December 1426 was granted an annual pension of 200 marks, the customary rate for an earl, payment being authorised as from March 20.⁶ Nothing had been paid by July 2 1434, however, when Stafford

1. Public Record Office, London, E404 46/287. In May 1431 he promised ten men at arms and thirty archers for a further six months (PRO E101 70/724).

2. J.H. Ramsay, Lancaster and York, Vol. I (Oxford 1892), p; 419.

3. GEC, Vol. II, ed. V. Gibbs (London 1912), p. 388.

4. Dugdale, Baronage, p. 165.

5. Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, ed. N.H. Nicolas, Vol. III (London 1834-37), p. 143.

6. PRO E404 43/167.

was claiming arrears of more than £790.¹ The grant was confirmed for life by Henry VI in November 1437 at the beginning of his personal government.² Stafford was summoned to his first Parliament at Leicester in February 1426, thereafter attending every Parliament until his death in July 1460, except that of 1431 when he was in France, serving many times as Trier of Petitions and as a Justice of the Peace in up to fifteen counties. At this time, in the 1420s, his age would have made him a lightweight on the council and in Parliament beside men like the earls of Warwick and Northumberland, the lords Cromwell and Hungerford and the curialist bishops Chichele of Canterbury, Kemp of London or Stafford of Bath and Wells.³ It is likely that he was first drawn into the rivalry between the king's uncles, Humfrey, duke of Gloucester, and Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, because of his rank and position rather than as a result of his own views or volition. The role of mediator and peace-maker always suited Stafford best. In 1426, when the open breach between Gloucester and Beaufort necessitated the recall of the duke of Bedford from France, Stafford was one of the lords appointed to effect a reconciliation by persuading Gloucester to attend the Leicester Parliament in March where he was also appointed a member of the commission to hear Gloucester's complaints and settle his grievances.⁴ It must be remembered that this was Stafford's first attendance at Parliament. In May 1427 he was awarded £40 for his services to the king and the realm, which probably represented some payment for the part

1. PRO E101 96/24.

2. Nicolas, Proceedings, Vol. V, p. 72.

3. John Stafford, bishop of Bath and Wells (1425-43), Archbishop of Canterbury (1443-52), was an illegitimate son of Humfrey Stafford of Southwick (c.1350-1413), and thereby distantly related to the earls of Stafford (DNB, Vol. LIII (London 1898), pp. 454-5).

4. Nicolas, Proceedings, Vol. III, pp. 181-89.

he played in the settlement between Gloucester and Beaufort.¹ He was in France when the quarrel broke out again in 1431-32 but returned to England to attend the Parliament of May 1432 where, before the king and Council, Beaufort cleared himself of the charge of Praemunire brought against him by Gloucester's faction. Before Parliament opened, Stafford, the earls of Suffolk, Salisbury, Huntingdon and Northumberland and the duke of Norfolk were all warned not to bring more than their normal retinues of men with them to Parliament.²

During the last years of the minority government, it would appear that Stafford was aligning himself with the Court party around Cardinal Beaufort, whose policy was to extricate England as honourably as possible from the French war. He took no active part in the peace council at Arras in July-August 1435, but in June 1439, with Beaufort, John Kemp, Archbishop of York, the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Oxford, he went to France to attend the negotiations for a settlement. The embassy was away from June 4 until October 6 but Stafford, Kemp and Lord Hungerford returned to London for fresh instructions between August 5 and September 9. Stafford's fee for his work was paid at the rate of 66s.8d. per day; he claimed a total fee of £413.6.8d. and full payment appears, for once, to have been completed by July 15 1440.³ Stafford was again appointed ambassador in the peace negotiations with France in 1445 in London, and in 1447 in Calais.⁴

In September 1439, after the peace talks at Oye had broken down, Stafford, with Oxford and his half-brother Henry Bouchier, went on to

1. PRO E404 43/313.

2. Nicolas, Proceedings, Vol. IV, pp. 112-3.

3. PRO E404 56/47; 56/148; E101 323/12.

4. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1441-46, p. 359; Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France, Vol. I, ed. J. Stevenson (Rolls Series: London 1861), p. 103; T. Rymer, Foedera, conventiones, literae et cuiusque generis acta publica, Vol. V, pt. I (The Hague 1741), p. 178.

Calais to try to settle the disturbances among the garrison there, which was on the verge of mutiny because of non-payment of wages.¹ Eighteen months later, in February 1441, he succeeded Humfrey, duke of Gloucester, as Captain of the castle and town of Calais.² The Captaincy of Calais, "the most distinguished post in the gift of the Crown",³ carried with it command of a large military force with control of the gateway of the routes to France and Burgundy, and jurisdiction over an economic centre of great importance. Stafford's appointment was not confirmed in the Council until August 28 1444.⁴ Presumably this delay was due to his attention to his affairs in England, and connected with the trial for sorcery against the king of the duchess of Gloucester, a trial which effectively destroyed Humfrey of Gloucester's position as leader of the war-party in England and established the ascendancy of Beaufort and the earl of Suffolk over Henry VI. Stafford himself was appointed a member of the commission set up at the time of the trial to inquire into all matters of sorcery,⁵ and it was probably this more than anything which prevented him from taking up his duties in Calais.

Stafford promised to be in Calais within ten days after Michaelmas 1442, and he spent most of his first year in Calais, thereafter performing his duties by deputies.⁶ The office was no sinecure. Efficient

1. Nicolas, Proceedings, Vol. V, p. 400.

2. PRO E101 71/908, 909, 910. Indentures of service as Captain of the castle and town of Calais and the Marches of Calais.

3. Ramsay, Lancaster and York, Vol. II, p. 184.

4. Nicolas, Proceedings, Vol. V, pp. 203-4, 209; PRO E101 71/912, 913.

5. K.H. Vickers, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (London 1907), p. 272.

6. c. August 1442. Patent of Richard Witherton as Lieutenant of Calais town (National Library of Wales, Pniarth MS 280, fo.50).

c. August 1442. Patent of Walter Percival as Lieutenant of Calais castle (*ibid.*, fo. 50).

5 November 1442. Indenture of Sir Humfrey Stafford as Lieutenant of Calais town, renewed for 1443-44 (*ibid.*, fos. 53, 69).

3 February 1444. Indenture of Sir Philip Chetwynd as Lieutenant of Calais/....

performance of the duties of office necessitated prolonged absences from England which Stafford, with his position and the responsibilities of his great estates in England, could ill afford. The best he could do was to bind his Lieutenants, in the terms of their indentures, to reside in person in Calais and forbid them to travel outside it without his, Stafford's, licence.¹ A Captain of Calais also needed large supplies of ready money of his own because the financial difficulties of the government in England meant that it frequently defaulted on payment of wages to the garrison which, from time to time, mutinied, seizing the Staplers' wools and forcing the government to moves of conciliation. In 1442, before Stafford took office, the garrison was again on the verge of mutiny, making it necessary for him to request the Council that he would not be held responsible for any disturbances which might occur before he could settle his own affairs in England and leave for Calais.² During his term of office he used his own income to pay his troops and the garrison remained at peace, but at the time of his resignation the government was indebted to him for arrears of pay to the sum of £19,395. It was arranged that repayment of the government's debt was to be made to Stafford by allowing him financial preferment on the customs and subsidies of the port of Sandwich where he was allowed the privilege of nominating his own collector.³ Payment was slow, however, and his rights

// Calais castle (G. Wrottesley, "The Chetwynd Cartulary," William Salt Arch. Soc. XII, pt. I (1891), pp. 319-20).

7 September 1444. Indenture of John Marney as Lieutenant of Calais castle; discharge from same office of John Sandford (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fos. 71, 73).

21 October 1445. Payment of £26.6.8 by the receiver of Gloucestershire to Sir Humfrey Stafford of Grafton as Lieutenant of Calais castle (Staffordshire Record Office, D641/1/2/173m9; /174m8, accounts for 1446-47 and 1448-49).

1. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 85: "Licence to his cousin Humfrey Stafford to come to England to do some business there. London, 3 June anno 24."

2. Nicolas, Proceedings, Vol. V, p. 204.

3. Rot. Parl., Vol. V, pp. 206-9; Cal. Fine Rolls 1445-52, p. 134.

in Sandwich had to be safeguarded in the Acts of Resumption and further royal grants down to 1456.¹ It is unknown whether full repayment was ever made.

Financial embarrassment was probably sufficient reason for Stafford's resignation although his original ten-year term of office had, in July 1446, been confirmed for life.² In accordance with the terms of his indenture, he gave six months' notice of his resignation which took effect from 31 March 1450. His resignation came at a time when English authority in Normandy was tottering and Calais becoming a key factor in the French war and in English politics.³ It would seem however that Stafford was no strategist, and throughout his term of office he failed to see the importance of Calais. At the time of his appointment he had contributed 500 marks towards the cost of an expedition to be led by John Beaufort, duke of Somerset, for the relief of Gascony.⁴ The position of Gascony was already hopeless, but the Council preferred to back Somerset and slight Richard, duke of York, then Lieutenant-General of Normandy, who was also seeking forces to increase his strength and defences against the French. As Captain of Calais, Stafford should have been above party politics and have seen that an expedition to strengthen Normandy, even if it increased York's personal power and authority, would also have safeguarded Calais. York himself well realised the value of Calais. In July 1454, during his first Protectorate, he took the office for himself, and in June 1455 conferred it upon Richard Neville, earl of Warwick. Warwick refused to give up the office after his attainder in

1. Rot. Parl., Vol. V, pp. 219 (1451), 229-30, 233 (1453), 245, 247, 264 (1454), 297-8, 308 (1455); Cal. Pat. Rolls 1446-52, pp. 323, 376-77.

2. PRO E101 71/918.

3. G.L. Harriss, "The struggle for Calais: an aspect of the rivalry between Lancaster and York," EHR LXXV (1960), 30-53.

4. Nicolas, Proceedings, Vol. V, p. 202.

1459, and Calais provided both refuge and vantage-point for the Yorkists in 1459-60.

In June 1450, possibly as security for the repayment of his financial dues in Sandwich, Stafford bought the offices of Constable of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports from James Fiennes, Lord Say and Sele. Fiennes was murdered by Cade's followers shortly afterwards, but on 16 July Henry VI confirmed the office to Stafford for life and then, a year later, granted it to him with reversion to his heirs male.¹ In the 1455 Act of Resumption, however, the reversion of the office was limited to Stafford and to his eldest son (d. 1458).² The appointment carried with it a salary of £300 per annum, plus certain perquisites, the salary derived from castle-wards and the grants of fee-farms, but payment of these, with arrears, was not authorised until February 1454.³ In June 1460 the account of the Receiver of Dover showed that no payments of the fee-farm of £87.6.8 per annum from Southampton had ever been made, and that no payments of the annual sum of £35.3.4 from Hereford had been made since 1456.⁴ On 6 May 1457, Stafford had brought a suit at Westminster against the sheriff of Southampton for arrears of £267 of the fee-farm but he obviously failed to obtain satisfaction, Southampton's prosperity having been badly affected by the war with France while, by tradition, it already had part of its revenues assigned to the Queen who probably received preference of payment over Stafford.⁵ Payment of the £31.10s. per annum assigned to Stafford from

1. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1446-52, pp. 331, 336, 473.

2. Rot. Parl., Vol. V, p. 309. In May 1459 the reversion was granted to Henry Beaufort, duke of Somerset (Cal. Pat. Rolls 1452-61, p. 516).

3. Cal. Close Rolls 1447-54, p. 459.

4. SRO D641/1/2/238ml.

5. A.S. Green, Town Life in the Fifteenth Century, Vol. II (London 1894), p. 304.

Westcombe and West Bedwind, Wiltshire, was made regularly to Stafford, but these were his own manors.¹ Total arrears from this office of Constable of Dover by June 1460 amounted to some £1220. Like his previous position as Captain of Calais, therefore, this office, in terms of financial gain, was of minimal importance. However, in common with Calais, Dover was of great strategic importance, controlling as it did the routes to Calais, France and Flanders, and forming a centre of considerable civil, military and naval authority. Again, however, Stafford's other commitments distracted him from the responsibilities of his office and he performed his duties by deputies, Richard Witherton, esquire, until 1458 and then Sir Thomas Kyriell. Stafford's neglect in enforcing his influence in and around Dover was to have serious consequences in 1460 when the earls of Warwick, Salisbury and March were able to land at Sandwich and march on London through a strongly pro-Yorkist Kent, Kyriell, Stafford's lieutenant at Dover, himself going over to the earls.

On September 14 1444, William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, had been rewarded for the part he had played in arranging Henry VI's marriage to Margaret of Anjou by being created marquess of Suffolk. On the same day Stafford's rank was elevated from earl to duke for his services to the king and because of "his nearness to our blood".² It is obvious that his elevation was a source of great gratification to Stafford, for throughout his life he was very conscious of his own rank and dignity. After his mother's death in 1438 he went to great lengths to have himself summoned to Parliament and named in all official documents as earl of Buckingham rather than as earl of Stafford, submitting a claim tracing

1. This fee-farm had formed part of an earlier grant to Stafford in May 1438 and was lost in the Act of Resumption of 1450 (Cal. Pat. Rolls 1436-41, p. 161).

2. Reports from the Lords Committee touching the Dignity of a Peer of the Realm, Vol. V (London 1829), p. 243.

his descent back to Miles of Gloucester (d. c.1141/2).¹ His mother had been countess of Buckingham, Hereford and Northampton, Lady of Brecon and Holderness in her own right, and on one of the original letters appointing Stafford an ambassador to France in May 1439, his title is given as simply earl of Stafford, but with a marginal correction for the purpose of introducing the new titles he had recently inherited.² The inheritance of the earldom of Buckingham through his grandfather, Thomas duke of Gloucester, a Prince of the Blood Royal, probably accounts for the use of what was in fact the most recent of his titles.³ It also probably accounts for his adoption in 1444 of the title of duke of Buckingham, for he placed great value on his royal descent, bearing the royal arms on the first quarter of his coat-armour.⁴ His grandson Henry, second duke of Buckingham, shared his pride to an even greater degree, obtaining the right to bear the Woodstock arms alone.⁵ In about 1448 Stafford was said to have been negotiating the marriage of one of his daughters to the Dauphin of France, the later Louis XI.⁶

It would have been extremely impolitic for Henry VI to have created Suffolk a marquess in 1444 with precedence over the earl of Stafford, his superior in terms of both birth and wealth. In the following year there was in fact a problem over precedence between Stafford and the newly created duke of Warwick which, with Stafford strongly pressing his

1. SRO D1721/1/1/313; D1721/1/11/12-21.

2. Nicolas, Proceedings, Vol. V, p. cxix.

3. The dates of the creation of his earldoms were: Hereford, c.1200, Northampton, 1337; Stafford, 1351; Buckingham, 1377. In 1442, "my lord of Stafford was made Captain of Calais by name Earl of Buckingham" (Nicolas, Proceedings, Vol. V, p. 209).

4. J.C. Wedgwood, "Early rolls of arms and armorial seals of Staffordshire," William Salt Arch. Soc. (1913), 300-1.

5. GEC, Vol. 2, p. 389, note f.

6. G. du Fresne Beaucourt, Histoire de Charles VII, Vol. V (Paris 1891), p. 137.

own claim, was finally settled in Parliament. In May 1447 Stafford took the precaution of obtaining a royal grant safeguarding his position, of precedence over all future creations except those of the Blood Royal.¹ After 1443 the earl of Suffolk became leader of the court party in succession to Cardinal Beaufort, but with his well-developed sense of his own personal status and dignity it is unlikely that Stafford ever allowed himself to be dominated by Suffolk who, although a distant relation,² was still great-grandson of a Hull merchant and derived most of his income not from his estates in East Anglia but from his position at court, in the form of royal grants and pensions. Although always associated with the court party around the king, Stafford was probably too much the overmighty subject to become a member of a court faction led by an ambitious courtier like Suffolk, while either loyalty to the king or his own lack of personal ambition prevented him from becoming its leader in his own right. In effect it was probably a combination of both factors which kept him on the side of moderation and peace in the following years. The part he played in Suffolk's career is obscure. He, with Suffolk, was one of the ambassadors for the negotiations with the French in London in June 1445. It was at these negotiations that the cession of Maine was probably discussed and agreed upon but a contemporary account of the French embassy seems to show Stafford acting more as host and guide to London than taking an active part in the actual negotiations.³ In February 1447 he was one of the deputation sent by Suffolk to arrest Humfrey, duke of Gloucester, before the Parliament at Bury St. Edmunds. Five days after Gloucester's death he accepted a

1. Cal. Charter Rolls 1427-1516, p. 78. The order of precedence in 1447 was: York, Exeter, Norfolk, Buckingham (Rot. Parl., Vol. V, p. 309).

2. William de la Pole, fourth earl of Suffolk, was grandson of Catherine, daughter of Hugh, second earl of Stafford (GEC, Vol. 12, pt. 1, pp. 444-51).

3. Stevenson, Wars of the English in France, Vol. I, pp. 103, 114, 138.

grant of some of Gloucester's manors in Kent.¹ In June 1447, however, when Stafford enfeoffed to use his lordship of Holderness, Suffolk was not one of the large number of joint-feoffees, who included Richard, duke of York.² Despite his connections with, and support for, the court party, Stafford escaped completely from any involvement in the trial and banishment of Suffolk in 1450 and from the attacks on other members of the court party. During Cade's rebellion he was one of the lords employed in the vain attempt to make terms,³ and one of the demands of the rebels' manifesto was in fact that the Princes of the Blood — York, Exeter and Buckingham — be recalled to their rightful places around the king.⁴

With the disappearance of Suffolk, leadership of the court party passed to Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, while Richard, duke of York, legitimate heir to the throne, began pressing more strongly for what he regarded as his rightful place in the government, Suffolk having been able to keep him from court by securing his appointment as Lieutenant-General of Normandy, which he had held until 1446, and then Lieutenant of Ireland for life from 1447. During this last period of his life, from 1450 to 1460, Stafford adopted the role of mediator between the court party and the emergent Yorkist faction. His own outlook was wholly conservative, dictated by his own position as senior duke,⁵ his loyalty towards Henry VI and his son, and his desire that peaceful forms of government be maintained. It seems likely that he wanted to secure for himself the position

1. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1446-52, pp. 45, 67.

2. Ibid., p. 78.

3. Six Town Chronicles of England, ed. R. Flenley (Oxford 1911), p. 154.

4. Three Fifteenth-century Chronicles, with Historical Memoranda by John Stowe, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Society, 1880), p. 97.

5. York was nine years his junior, Norfolk thirteen years and Exeter, the son of his sister Anne, twenty-eight years.

of elder statesman, holding the balance between the factions but remaining uncommitted unless the king's authority was directly challenged. His personal inclination probably lay with Beaufort of Somerset with whom he had had a close association over the past few years, his son and heir, Lord Stafford, having secured a dispensation for his marriage to Margaret, Somerset's daughter, in October 1444.¹ There is never any indication however that he felt any personal animosity towards York or any of his supporters, or that he made Somerset's quarrel with York his own. The quarrel seems to have been based on the fact that Somerset had replaced York as commander in France in 1447, against York's wishes. York's persistence in calling on Somerset to account for his command in France indicates a personal vendetta against him, but there is no doubt that Somerset was seeking to exclude York from any position of authority in England. Somerset, through his grandfather, John of Gaunt, had a claim to the throne but from what is known of Stafford's character it is inconceivable that he could have entertained this notion in respect of his support for Somerset.

The rivalry between York and Somerset led to the first direct confrontation of forces at Dartford in March 1452. Stafford and the earls of Salisbury and Warwick between them supplied half the royal army, Stafford being paid £400 on 16 March 1452 for attending the king at Kenilworth and Coventry and for accompanying him to London and Kent "with great fellowship".² The three peers were against a resort to arms and urged Henry VI to conciliate York who, on the understanding that Somerset would be tried for treason for his mismanagement of the French war between 1447 and 1450, disbanded his forces.³ The curialist council, however,

1. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 74.

2. PRO E404 68/97.

3. R. Storey, The End of the House of Lancaster (London 1966), p. 100.

was reluctant to proceed with the charges against Somerset, preferring to treat the matter as a private quarrel to be settled by arbitration. York, isolated from court, had to accept a commission set up to reconcile his differences with Somerset, from which he obtained little satisfaction. Stafford served as a member of this commission,¹ and two years later, in 1454, he was appointed High Steward at the trial of the earl of Devon for his treason in supporting York at Dartford.² Devon was acquitted. By this time York's own position had been altered radically, first by the king's temporary insanity which led to his appointment as Protector, and then by the birth of Henry VI's son, who displaced him as heir to the throne.

On 22 May 1455, the two armies confronted each other again, at St. Albans in Hertfordshire. Stafford, who alleged that he was present only to perform his personal duty to the king, without any thought of supporting private quarrels, urged York to wait and bring his grievances before a Council to be held at Leicester.³ York refused, unless Somerset was first handed over for trial, but, while transferring command of the army from Somerset to Stafford, as Constable of England, Henry VI refused to abandon him to York, and in the battle which followed Somerset was killed and Henry himself, Stafford and his heir were all wounded.⁴ In several accounts, Stafford's son was reported to have been killed, but there is evidence that he was alive until at least March 1458, and that his death was caused by illness or plague of some sort.⁵ During York's

1. Cal. Close Rolls 1447-54, pp. 327, 334.

2. Rot. Parl., Vol. V, p. 249.

3. C.J.A. Armstrong, "Politics and the battle of St. Albans 1455," BIHR XXXIII (1960), 21-3.

4. The Paston Letters 1422-1509, Vol. I, ed. J. Gairdner (Edinburgh 1910, p. 331.

5. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1451-60, pp. 306, 355, 359, 371, 401, 403, 409, 664, 677; SRO D1721/1/1/346d. See below, Appendix III (a), p. 353

first protectorate, Stafford, as a member of the Council, had accepted York and co-operated with him, although, according to the Paston Letters, he was prepared for trouble and was said to have had made "2000 bends with knots", his badge, to distribute to his retainers.¹ After St. Albans he showed himself again prepared to co-operate with York in the interests of peaceful government, for York had no constitutional means of implementing his victory without the support of some of the less militant among the court party, the king having again fallen into a state of inertia and apathy. The appointment of Henry, Viscount Bouchier, Stafford's half-brother, as Treasurer of England made it easier for Stafford to agree to come in, to be ruled and draw the line² with York. Another half-brother, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, remained in office as Chancellor, all three brothers being bound in heavy recognizances to maintain the settlement.

This period of co-operation between York, the Bouchiers and Stafford marks the climax of the policy of moderation advocated by Stafford. York's dismissal as Protector in February 1456, and the emergence of Queen Margaret as leader of the court party in place of Somerset, indicates the weakness of leadership among the moderates and put an end to hopes of peaceful co-operation. While Stafford's unwavering loyalty to Henry VI extended to his son, the baby Prince Edward, whose education he was appointed to supervise in 1457,³ he had little sympathy for the Queen, who alienated him by her relentless hostility to York and by her war-mongering. After York's dismissal from his second protectorate, there was no immediate change of ministers, York himself being high in

1. PL, Vol. I, p. 265.

2. Ibid., p. 335.

3. Rymer, Foedera, Vol. V, pt. II, p. 70. It had been Stafford who had presented the baby to the king during his illness in 1453, to try to obtain Henry's acknowledgement of his son (PL, Vol. I, p. 263):

favour with the gentle Henry VI, but an outbreak of hostilities in Wales between York's Lieutenant there and Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond and half-brother to the king, gave the Queen her opportunity to attack York openly and various unspecified charges were brought against him. While reminding York of his dependence on the king's grace, Stafford opposed the more vigorous action demanded by the Queen. "It is said that my Lord of York has been with the King and has departed again in right good conceit with the King but not in good conceit with the Queen and some men say that had my Lord of Buckingham not prevented it, my Lord of York would have been distressed in his departure."¹ Shortly afterwards the Bouchiers were removed from office, to be replaced by the Queen's supporters. It was reported that Stafford "takes it right strangely that both his brothers are so suddenly discharged from their offices", and that this "among other things, makes him think that his opinion is contrary to the Queen's intent".² With her own Chancellor Laurence Booth in the key office of Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Queen had gained firm control of the administration, and the moderate party collapsed.

From 1457 to 1460, the court abandoned London for the greater security of the Midlands. Stafford remained at Henry VI's side, perhaps in an attempt to reduce the Queen's influence, but without the Bouchiers his powers of leadership were not equal to the task of countering the Queen's domination of the government, nor is there any evidence that he made any overt attempt to do so. With his support and that of a few like-minded peers and bishops, the king was able to maintain a pretence of government. Great Councils were called periodically, and there was no attempt to exclude York, whose name appears regularly as a witness to royal charters until 28 July 1459. By 1459, however, the isolation of

1. PL, Vol. I, p. 408.

2. Ibid.

the court was clearly visible. According to a news-letter from the court of Burgundy to France, Henry had with him only Stafford, the earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Roos and certain bishops.¹

After the flight of the earl of Warwick to Calais in November 1458, both sides had begun to prepare for war. In September 1459 the two armies met at Blore in Staffordshire. The following month saw the Yorkists routed at Ludford Bridge, and the royal forces sacked York's castle at nearby Ludlow, York's wife and her two younger sons George and Richard being handed over in ward to Stafford's wife, who was sister to the duchess of York.² York himself fled to Ireland, the earls of Warwick, Salisbury and March to Calais. In November, at a Parliament at Coventry, "the Parliament of Devils", York, March, Warwick, Salisbury and their supporters were attainted, their titles extinguished, and their estates forfeited and shared out amongst the Queen's supporters. The Stafford family received its share of the spoils. Stafford's wife was granted one of Warwick's manors³ and his son Henry was made Constable of Nottingham Castle and Master Forester of Sherwood,⁴ offices previously held by Humfrey, third son of Henry Viscount Bouchier, whose two elder sons had joined York. Bouchier himself took the oath of loyalty at Coventry but supported York in June 1460, as did Archbishop Bouchier. Stafford himself received the lands of York's Chamberlain, William Oldhall, in January 1460; in February 1460 he was granted all fines to be made by Walter Devereux of Weobley, William Hastings of Kirby, Leicestershire and Walter Hopton of Shropshire for assisting against the king at Ludford.⁵

1. Stevenson, The Wars of the English in France, Vol. I, p. 367.

2. C. Scofield, The Life and Reign of Edward IV, Vol. I (London 1967), p. 37 note 2.

3. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1452-61, p. 571.

4. Ibid., p. 532.

5. Ibid., pp. 535, 548.

In March he surrendered this last award and was granted various manors belonging to York as repayment of unpaid wages of £300 and an unpaid loan of £200.¹ None of these estates had passed into his hands by the time of his death four months later, in July 1460. Stafford's own views on the actions of the Coventry Parliament are unknown. His attitude to all events after 1456 seems to have been one of passive acceptance, but at Coventry he appears to have agreed to the drastic measures against the Yorkists and to have accepted his share of the spoils. This was perhaps because he felt that after Blore and Ludford no further latitude should be shown to rebels against the king.

In June 1460 the earls of Warwick, Salisbury and March landed at Sandwich. Responsibility for preventing their landing had been placed on Lord Rivers, sheriff of Kent and Keeper of Rochester Castle, in the previous October.² Stafford, who as Warden of the Cinque Ports should have taken on the task of defending the coast, obviously considered it better that he should remain at the king's side. The men of Kent, including Stafford's Lieutenant at Dover, flocked to join the earls on their march to London. Kent had been the centre for Cade's rebellion ten years earlier but the strength of the pro-Yorkist feeling there is perhaps surprising in view of the fact that Stafford should have had more personal influence as lord of large estates around Tonbridge, as Constable of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports, and as commissioner of array as recently as March 1460. It was said that men of Kent were responsible for his death at Northampton in July.³

When the two armies met at Northampton Stafford, for the last time,

1. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1452-61, p. 552.

2. Ibid., p. 555.

3. An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI, ed. J.S. Davies (Camden Society, 1856), p. 97.

acted as spokesman for the king but as he was dealing with attainted rebels there was now no chance of reconciliation. "You come not as bishops to treat for peace but as men of arms,"¹ he is reported to have said to Warwick's delegation of bishops. His half-brothers Henry, John and William Bouchier were with Warwick's forces, as were Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk and husband of his half-sister Eleanor. There is no evidence that Stafford and the Bouchiers were ever personal enemies and before the battle of St. Albans Stafford had tried to urge Norfolk to peace by reminding him of their kinship.² Henry Bouchier, who was married to Richard of York's sister, had tried to keep a foot in each camp until the last, for in November 1459 he had assented to the attainder of his own sons. During the battle which took place on July 10, Stafford was killed in front of the king's tent. He was buried first at the Grey Friars in Northampton, being later moved to Pleshey in Essex, where his grandparents Thomas of Gloucester and Eleanor Bohun had founded a college. His will, dated at Maxstoke on August 16, 1459, was proved on December 2, 1460, his wife and his "brother of Canterbury" being named executors.³

His family were well-treated by the Yorkists and Edward IV. His sons Henry and John, who fought for Henry VI at Towton in March 1461, received pardons in June 1461;⁴ John became earl of Wiltshire in 1469, while Henry, who was married to Margaret Beaufort, countess of Richmond and mother of the future King Henry VII, lived away from court. Although he and his wife could have become the focus of Lancastrian hopes, they lived in peace until his death in 1471. The Act of Resumption of

1. Davies (ed.), An English Chronicle, p. 96.

2. Armstrong, "Politics and the battle of St. Albans," p. 31.

3. Somerset House, London, PCC Stokton, 21.

4. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1461-67, p. 12.

Edward's first Parliament safeguarded the dower rights of Stafford's widow, as well as confirming to her Edward's grant of the lordship of Holderness.¹ In February 1461 she and Archbishop Bourchier were granted all of Stafford's English estates at a yearly farm, payment of which was suspended in February 1464 for seven years in return for the surrender of the custody of Stafford's heir, his grandson Henry,² who had become de iure second duke of Buckingham at the age of five years.³ Henry himself was to marry a sister of Edward IV's Queen. In October 1471, aged sixteen, he was granted a licence to enter the lands of his uncle, Sir Henry Stafford, whose heir he was,⁴ and in January 1473, when he was no more than seventeen, he was granted livery of Stafford's estates with effect from Michaelmas 1472.⁵

Stafford seems to stand out from among his contemporaries in his freedom from ambition, self-seeking and greed. There would seem to be no indication that any of his actions were motivated by a desire to acquire more lands, more royal favours or more power, and his conception of his own position and dignity held him aloof from faction fights and inclined him towards the role of elder statesman. He had no personal quarrels with his contemporaries and it seems that he was held in respect by them, including York and the Nevilles. In the Yorkist manifesto to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Commons in June 1460, it was said that the king had been restrained from liberty by evil counsellors, including the earls of Shrewsbury and Wiltshire. Stafford, despite his assiduous attendance on the king since 1456, is not mentioned among the

1. Rot. Parl., Vol. V, p. 471.

2. Cal. Fine Rolls 1452-61, pp. 284-5; ibid. 1461-71, pp. 11-12; Cal. Pat. Rolls 1461-71, p. 298.

3. GEC, Vol. 2, pp. 389-90.

4. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1467-77, p. 298.

5. Ibid., p. 367.

number of "evil counsellors".¹ In a list of notable casualties of the struggle between Lancaster and York, drawn up in the reign of Henry VII, of those who had died since 1447 only Humfrey of Gloucester and Humfrey Stafford of Buckingham are named as "good".² It cannot be denied, however, that Stafford's personality was too negative and limited to make much mark on the events through which he lived. Considering his great estates, wealth and influence, his part in the events of his day is extremely obscure. He lacked the strength of leadership and statesmanship necessary to maintain the delicate balance between the rival factions in the country, in an age when blind loyalty to an incompetent king was not enough to secure or preserve peace and good governance.

1. B. Wilkinson, Constitutional History of England in the Fifteenth Century 1399-1485 (London 1964), pp. 103-4.

2. Storey, The End of the House of Lancaster, p. 184.

CHAPTER TWO

II

THE ESTATES

Humfrey Stafford came of age and was granted livery of his inherited estates in 1423. In 1438 he inherited large estates from his mother which probably trebled his income and made him one of the wealthiest men in England, holding nearly 150 manors scattered over twenty-four counties in England and the Welsh March. He made few permanent additions to, or alienations from, these inherited estates which, with only one exception, came into his hands without the legal difficulties and disputed titles so prevalent in the fifteenth century. The marriage alliances, scheming, litigation and currying of royal favour had all taken place long before he inherited his estates, and despite the long minority from 1403 to 1423 it does not seem that the estates of Edmund, earl of Stafford, suffered to any noticeable extent from wastage or bad lordship, or that the machinery of private administration at the local level had been seriously disrupted during this period.

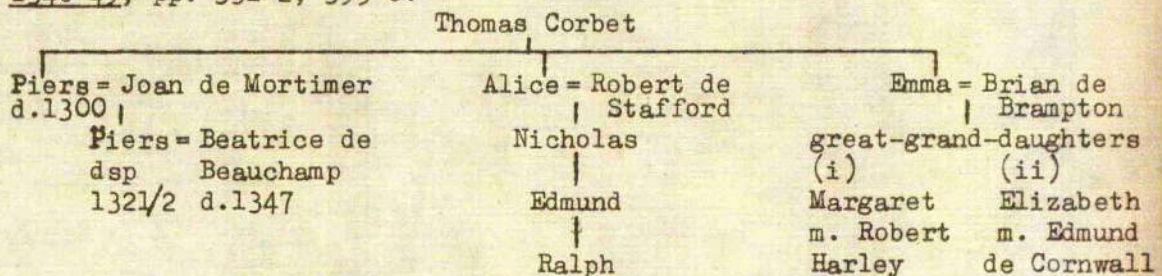
The earls of Stafford had built up their territorial influence during the fourteenth century, mainly by two extremely advantageous marriages. The first was that of Ralph, Lord Stafford, to Margaret d'Audley, heiress through her mother Margaret de Clare to one third of the de Clare earldoms of Gloucester and Hereford. Seisin of Margaret's estates was granted to Ralph Stafford in November 1347,¹ following the death of his father-in-law Hugh d'Audley, created earl of Gloucester in 1337, who had held the lands of his wife by courtesy of England since her

1. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1345-48, p. 433.

death in 1342. Margaret d'Audley herself died a few months later, in the early months of 1348, leaving two sons by her marriage to Ralph Stafford, both in turn becoming heirs to the d'Audley inheritance. Ralph Stafford in his turn however held the estates by courtesy, Margaret's second son and eventual heir Hugh (born c.1342) having to wait for possession of his inheritance until his father's death in 1372, nine years after Hugh himself came of age. The estates of Margaret de Clare included the lordships of Newport in the Welsh March and Tonbridge in Kent, and manors in Gloucestershire, Suffolk and Essex, and for the first time extended Stafford interests and influence beyond the nucleus of estates previously held in the West Midlands and into Southern England, East Anglia and the South-West, and laid the foundations of the future Stafford power in the Welsh March.¹ In the same year, 1347, Ralph consolidated his estates along the Welsh March by his inheritance of part of the lordship of Cause in Shropshire. Through a marriage alliance a century or so earlier, he became one of the co-heirs of Peter, Lord Corbet (d. 1322) following the death of the widow in 1347, she having held the estates as joint tenant with her husband.² In 1358 Ralph acquired the lands assigned to one of the other two co-heirs, Sir Edward de Cornwall.³ In 1351 however, in recognition of his increased power

1. Calendar of Inquests post mortem and other analogous documents preserved in the Public Record Office, Vol. XIII (London 1954), pp. 178-189.

2. GEC, Vol. 3, ed. V. Gibbs (London 1913), p. 418; Cal. Close Rolls 1346-49, pp. 331-2, 395-6.



3. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1354-58, p. 544.

and status, Edward III had created Ralph earl of Stafford. Ralph's income at this time is unknown but in the fourteenth century a minimum annual income of 1000 marks seems to have been a necessary pre-condition for the rank of earl.¹

The second important Stafford marriage was that of Edmund, fifth earl, to Anne, eldest daughter of Thomas, duke of Gloucester, and granddaughter of Edward III. The main advantage of the marriage, which took place in 1398, probably lay in the fact that Edmund recovered Anne's dower lands from her first marriage to Earl Thomas of Stafford (d. 1392), for he was himself still a minor and did not receive seisin of his own inherited estates until March 1399. The deaths of Anne's brother Humfrey, earl of Buckingham, in August 1399 and of her mother Eleanor Bohun in October of the same year made Anne and her two younger sisters co-heiresses of Eleanor's half-share of the estates of the Bohun earldoms of Hereford, Northampton and Essex. In 1373 these had been partitioned between the widowed Countess Joan of Hereford (d. 1419), Eleanor and Mary, her younger sister who in 1381 had married Henry, son and heir of John of Gaunt. Mary and her share of the inheritance had been in wardship to Gloucester, Eleanor Bohun's husband who had apparently sought to retain Mary's lands and thus the whole inheritance by making her enter a convent.² If this had been his intention, it was foiled by Mary's marriage, but Eleanor's own inheritance was a considerable extent of lands. The death of Anne Stafford's sister Joan in August 1400 and the entry of Isabel, the youngest sister, to the Convent of the Minorites without Aldgate in 1402 made Anne sole heiress of her mother, and by January 1403 she and Edmund had received seisin of her mother's estates.³

1. Holmes, Estates of the Higher Nobility, p. 4.

2. Ibid., p. 24.

3. Cal. Fine Rolls 1399-1405, pp. 72, 99, 159-60, 201-2.

These included the lordship of Kymbolton in Huntingdonshire, the lordships of Huntingdon and Caldecote in the Welsh March and manors in Essex and Gloucestershire. A valor of all the lands of Edmund for 1400-01, before livery of Isabel's share of the Bohun estates, gives the gross value as £3122.3.11 and, in issues paid to the Receiver-General, £2096.5.2 of which £112.14.9 was arrears.¹ Probably about one third of the gross value was from the lands Edmund was holding in right of his wife, for her dower lands, in 1393, had been assessed at £248 per annum, and between 1387 and 1395 the Bohun lands Gloucester had held had been valued at over £900 per annum.²

Within three generations the Staffords had thus risen from the ranks of the lesser baronage to become landed magnates. Earl Edmund's death on July 21, 1403, and the twenty-year minority which followed it, split up the estates, temporarily destroying Stafford influence. The lands and custody of Edmund's heir, the young Humfrey, sixth earl of Stafford, were taken into the king's hands. Anne, Edmund's widow, retained control over her own Bohun inheritance, which was later to be threatened by the claims on it of Henry V which are discussed below.³ In October and November 1403 she was reassigned the dower estates of her first Stafford marriage and granted a dower settlement from Edmund's estates.⁴ These lands, assessed at a total of £338 per annum, included Thornbury and Rendcombe manors in Gloucestershire, Haverhill and Desenyng in Suffolk, Tyso and Whatcote in Warwickshire, Easington and Ludgershall in Buckinghamshire, one third of Blechingley manor in Surrey, one third

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1. SRO D641/1/2/6m8d. The valor contains a summary of the account of Nicholas Bradshawe, Receiver-General (m9d).
 2. Holmes, Estates of the Higher Nobility, p. 25.
 3. Below, pp. 46 ff.
 4. Cal. Close Rolls 1402-05, pp. 212-6, 226-36.

of Newport lordship and one third of Tonbridge lordship, which the Staffords held of the Archbishop of Canterbury by service of acting as Steward at his enthronement.¹ Anne's second dower was valued at only £90 although it included one third of Newport lordship in the Welsh March. This, the richest of Edmund's lordships, which produced £537.2.11¹/₄ in revenue in 1400-01,² was worth nothing in 1403 and for several years afterwards because of devastation and waste caused by the Welsh rebellions of the early years of Henry IV's reign. By 1408 the situation had improved somewhat and Anne was farming out her dower interest in Newport to Edmund, duke of York, for £100 per annum.³ After York's death in 1415 she obtained the lease of the rest of the lordship from Queen Joan,⁴ and held it until 1419 when Joan was accused of sorcery against her step-son Henry V and in consequence had her estates confiscated. From 1421 Anne held Joan's interests in the lordship from Henry V at an annual farm for £200.⁵ In 1423, when her son Humfrey was granted seisin of his father's estates, Anne surrendered to him her one-third dower interest in Newport so that he had control over the whole lordship.⁶

Anne Stafford retained control over the rest of her dower estates until 1438, a burden on Stafford's estates for fifteen years after he reached his majority. Her main residence was Thornbury manor in Gloucestershire and both she and her third husband, Sir William Bouchier, were buried at Llanthony Priory near Gloucester, to which Anne granted an annual pension of £20 in 1431 and 100 marks in her will in 1438.⁷ She

1. Cal. Close Rolls 1402-05, pp. 260-1.

2. SRO D641/1/2/6mm.3, 3d.

3. SRO D641/1/2/8ml.

4. Nicolas, Proceedings, Vol. II, p. 216.

5. Cal. Fine Rolls 1413-22, p. 393.

6. SRO D641/1/2/12ml. Account of Thomas Laurence, Anne Stafford's Receiver-General, for 1430-31.

7. SRO D641/1/2/13m4; D1721/1/11/22.

had wished to endow the Priory with rents for two canons to celebrate masses for her family but died before this was accomplished. In 1453 her wishes were finally carried out when Stafford and his Bouchier half-brothers paid £20 for a mortmain licence to buy lands and rents for this purpose.¹ Sir William Bouchier, whom Anne had married in 1405, controlled her Bohun and Stafford estates until his death in 1420. He himself rose in the service of Henry V and his estates valued at over £315 per annum in 1412 were mainly from royal grants. They lay chiefly in Essex and Suffolk and were inherited by his son and heir by Anne — Henry, Viscount Bouchier, created earl of Essex in 1461.²

After Anne Stafford's dower had been assigned, Henry IV granted the rest of Earl Edmund's estates to his Queen, Joan of Navarre, as part of her dower of 10,000 marks.³ The lands were to be held with all liberties, franchises, customs, fines and other profits, and were valued at £204.-2.4 $\frac{3}{4}$, Joan's income also being greatly reduced from the Welsh Marcher lordship of Newport by the after-effects of the Welsh rebellions. All the estates were confiscated in 1419, following Joan's conviction for sorcery, and they remained in the hands of Henry V or his nominees until the end of the minority. In May 1422 Henry ordered the restitution of Queen Joan's dower but in August he promised livery of his estates to the young earl of Stafford, still a minor, and Joan was compensated by grants of other estates.

The overall effect of the division of the Stafford estates and lack of lordship during a prolonged minority is unknown, but on some of the estates at least Joan proved an unsatisfactory tenant. At Bradley

1. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1452-61, p. 153.

2. For the Bouchier family, see the introduction to the Register of Archbishop Bouchier 1454-84, ed. F.R.H. du Boulay (Canterbury and York Society LIV, Oxford 1957), pp. vii-x.

3. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401-05, pp. 347, 369.

in Staffordshire, the bond tenants were reported to have abandoned their tenements during the wardship of the Queen,¹ with a resulting loss of rents and dues to the lord of the manor, and in 1425 Stafford brought against Joan a case of waste and destruction on his estates in Cause and Bridgnorth in Shropshire. He alleged that during his minority she had cut down his trees and sold them, sold slates, marl and sand to the value of £20 and had allowed the chapel at Cause Castle, worth 100 marks, a grange worth 100 marks, two stone houses worth 100 marks each, a stable worth £40 and three water-mills worth 20 marks, to remain unroofed and to fall into disrepair. He also charged her with oppressing his tenants with unusual burdens and excessive distrains, with the result that two of the native tenants had relinquished their holdings and run off. The Queen appeared by attorney to request successive adjournments until Hilary term 1427 when it appears that the case was either dropped or was settled out of court.²

All grants and annuities made by Earl Edmund on his estates were confirmed for the minority by Henry IV.³ Edmund had settled a number of estates, including Newton Blossomville and Clifton in Buckinghamshire, Whiston in Northamptonshire and various tenements in Staffordshire and elsewhere on the former Receiver-General of his brother, Earl Thomas, Nicholas Bradshawe, a king's squire. These estates, and an annuity of 66s.8d. were confirmed to Bradshawe for life,⁴ and reverted to Humfrey Stafford in 1415. The lands were then farmed out by Henry V until the end of the minority, Sir William Bouchier, Stafford's step-father,

1. SRO D641/1/2/53m2.

2. G. Wrottesley, "Extracts from the Plea Rolls of the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V," William Salt Arch. Soc. XVII (1896), 108.

3. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401-05, pp. 270-1, 301, 308, 311, 347-8, 380, 385.

4. Ibid., pp. 263, 270, 348.

receiving the manor of Whiston.¹ Stafford was still paying at least two of the annuities granted by his father into the 1440s — five marks to Nicholas Parker being paid at least until 1442-43 and five marks granted to William Smart by Edmund until at least 1445-46.²

Humfrey Stafford, still a minor, was in France with the royal army when Henry V died on August 31, 1422. On the previous day, in the presence of witnesses, Henry had promised Stafford that he should have livery of his estates. In the first Parliament of Henry VI's reign, in November 1422, Stafford presented a petition requesting that the late king's promise should be honoured.³ The Lords agreed that he should be granted livery of all lands, offices, fees, advowsons and other profits of his inheritance as from August 31, notwithstanding the fact that he was still a minor, but providing that the grant was not to the prejudice of any of the king's subjects who held grants of the lands for the term of the minority. If these men chose to surrender their grants in Parliament or in Chancery, Stafford could have full livery of these estates also, and the previous tenants would be quit of their farm to the king as from August 30. Stafford was otherwise bound to prove his age and sue for livery according to common law when he reached his majority, and writs were sent out to this effect on February 11, 1423.⁴

He sued formally for livery of his estates in August 1423, and in December writs were sent out to the escheat^{eo}ors of fourteen counties announcing that he had proved his age, performed homage and fealty and was therefore to be given seisin of his lands in their counties.⁵ In

1. Cal. Fine Rolls 1413-22, pp. 127, 137; Cal. Pat. Rolls 1413-16, p. 380.

2. SRO D641/1/2/54m9; /56m10d.

3. Rot. Parl., Vol. IV, p. 195.

4. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1422-29, p. 75.

5. Cal. Close Rolls 1422-29, p. 89.

view of the delay, it may be that few estates remained in the hands of others by this date, and that the writs were merely a formality. In February 1424 a similar writ was sent out to the Chancellor of Ireland.¹ Margaret d'Audley's de Clare inheritance had included part of the Irish lordship of Kilkenny but in 1392 Earl Thomas had requested Richard III to grant custody of these lands to James Butler, third earl of Ormond,² and the Staffords seem to have relinquished all interests in their Irish estates. In 1428, however, Stafford was granted a licence to receive revenues from his Irish estates in absentia for ten years,³ but no mention of the estates or their revenues is to be found on any surviving valors or Receiver-General's accounts.

Stafford's inheritance in 1423 included not only his father's estates and the reversion of those granted to Nicholas Bradshawe, but also the estates of his father's brother, Sir Hugh Stafford, who had married, c.1409, Elizabeth, Lady Bouchier, who represented the senior branch of the descendants of Robert Bouchier, a Lord Chancellor of Edward III. Sir Hugh died in 1420 without direct heir and his nephew Humfrey was found to be his heir. His estates had been farmed out for the remaining period of the minority,⁴ and included the manors of Stretton Audley in Oxfordshire, Rugby in Warwickshire, Naseby in Northamptonshire, Barlaston, Hartwell and Tittensor manors in Staffordshire and Effingham, Woldingham and Caterham in Surrey. These manors all belonged to the original barony of Stafford or to the d'Audley inheritance and had probably been settled on Sir Hugh by his father, Earl Hugh, or by one of his brothers, or by their feoffees or executors, for Earl Hugh had provided

1. Cal. Close Rolls 1422-29, p. 102.

2. E. Curtis, A History of Medieval Ireland (London 1938), p. 256.

3. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1422-29, p. 454.

4. Cal. Fine Rolls 1413-22, pp. 362-3.

in his will that his three younger sons William and Edmund and Hugh should each receive £100 per annum from the profits of lands in the hands of his feoffees.¹ These manors were later again to be marked off from the main body of the Stafford estates, for Stafford himself used them to form part of the settlements which he made for his own younger sons. It may be noted that the title and lands of Sir Hugh Stafford's wife, who died in 1433 without direct heir, passed to Stafford's half-brother Henry, son of Anne Stafford and Sir William Bourchier, a descendent of the junior branch of this family.²

There are no accounts for Stafford's estates between the years 1423 and 1438 from which it would be possible to estimate his income during these years. It is possible however to get a comparative figure of his income and that of his mother Anne, dowager countess of Stafford, from the results of the income tax survey of 1436. Mother and son's estates were of course administered and assessed for taxation purposes quite separately. Stafford received his writ ordering assessment under oath in January 1436,³ the tax to be based on net income, that is, the clear profit after payment of repairs, wages, and local costs, of the English estates only. It thus excluded the valuable Welsh Marcher lordships of Newport and Cause held by Stafford, and of Brecon, Huntingdon and Hay held by his mother. It has been suggested that the 1436 figures represent only some 80 per cent of the Staffords' net incomes,⁴ but presumably both estates were assessed on the same basis, and the figures do provide a fair indication of the great disparity of income between the

1. Dugdale, Baronage, Vol. I, p. 162.

2. GEC, Vol. 2, pp. 246-9; Cal. Close Rolls 1429-35, pp. 81, 216.

3. Cal. Fine Rolls 1430-37, p. 268.

4. C.D. Ross and R.B. Pugh, "The English baronage and the income tax of 1436," BIHR XXVI (1953), 5-6; cf. H.L. Grey, "Incomes from land in England in 1436," EHR XLIX (1934), 607-39.

earl of Stafford, with lands assessed at a net value of £855 per annum, and the dowager countess with lands worth £1958 per annum. The disparity is shown to be even greater if the clear values of the Welsh lordships are also included. According to a valor of 1441-42, only some five years later, the clear value of Newport and Cause is put at £588.5.5¹/₂, and that of Brecon, Huntingdon and Hay at £915.10s.¹ Until her death in 1438, therefore, Anne Stafford's income from English and Welsh estates was twice that of her son, and over three quarters of that income came probably from her own inherited estates and only the remainder from her Stafford dower lands, for in her own right Anne Stafford was one of the greatest heiresses and wealthiest widows of her day. The inheritance of her estates in 1438 radically altered Stafford's position and thereby paved the way for his elevation to the rank and title of duke of Buckingham in September 1444. In 1447-48, a valor of all his estates calculated his gross income at over £6300 per annum, and his net income at over £4800 per annum.²

The greater part of Anne Stafford's estates were the Bohun lands inherited from her mother, but she also succeeded in recovering some of her father's estates following the reversal of his conviction for treason in the first Parliament of Henry IV's reign in 1399. As with many other inheritances, the descent of both father's and mother's estates was complicated by disputed claims, and some of the disputes over the Bohun lands remained unresolved still at the time of Stafford's own death in 1460; but, because of his mother's determined efforts in assertion of

1. SRO D641/1/2/17mm.10-11, 17-20.

2. Longleat MS 6411. Valors, by ignoring the problem of arrears, do not represent actual income received (see below, Chapter III). T.B. Pugh has calculated from various accounts that Stafford's actual income was probably nearer £3700 per annum (The Marcher Lordships of South Wales 1415-1536, select documents edited and introduced by T.B. Pugh (Cardiff 1963), pp. 176-7).

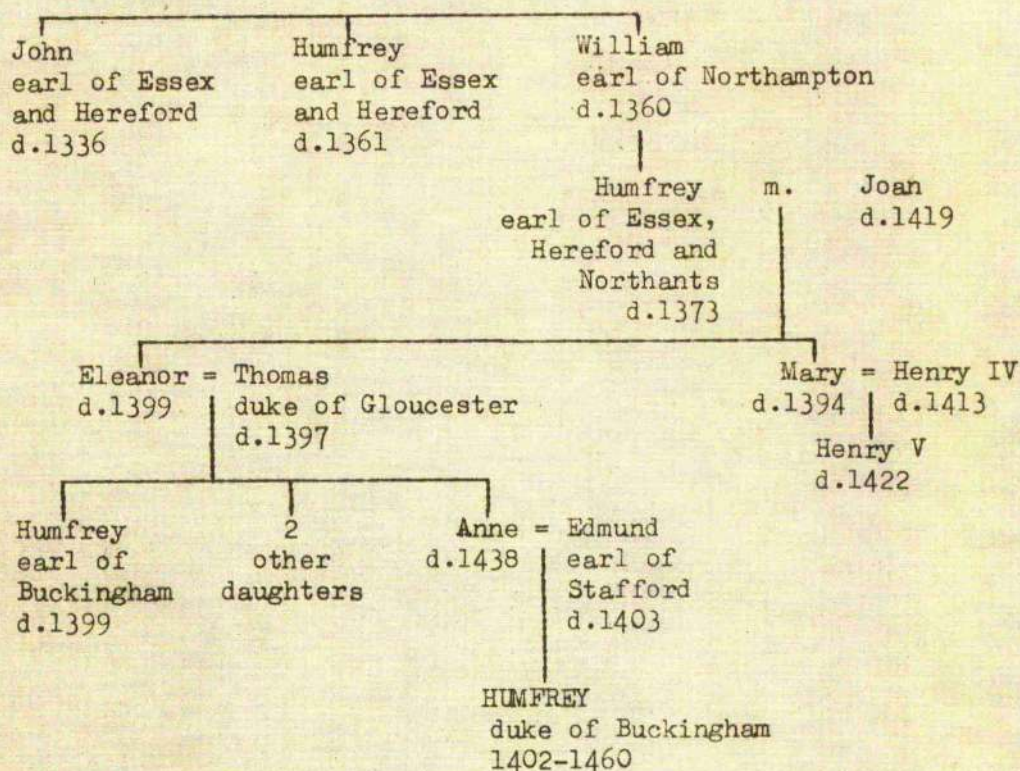
her rights, Stafford's own inheritance and tenure of her estates, with one exception, was carried through, and continued, peacefully.

In 1373, with the death of Humfrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, Northampton and Essex, his estates were divided between his two daughters, Eleanor and Mary, and his widow Joan, countess of Hereford, who as well as her dower estates held a substantial amount of property enfeoffed to trustees by her husband.¹ Eleanor Bohun's estates descended to her daughter and sole surviving heir Anne, wife of Edmund Stafford, between 1399 and 1402, while in 1413 Henry V inherited the estates of his mother Mary Bohun, held by Henry IV by courtesy of England since 1394. In 1414, to prevent these estates being absorbed into the other Crown estates, Henry annexed his share of the Bohun inheritance to the Duchy of Lancaster, to be administered as part of the Duchy. In 1419, when Joan, dowager countess of Hereford, died, Henry seized the opportunity afforded by the reversion and division of her Bohun estates between Humfrey Bohun's surviving heirs to question the validity of the original 1373 partition, alleging that it had been unequal and that his share was worth £100 per annum less than that of the other co-heir, his cousin Anne Stafford. The lands of Joan Bohun were in consequence taken into his hands and so remained until his return from France in 1420. In May of that year, a meeting of the Duchy council was held and in December a writ of scire facias was issued against Anne Stafford and proceedings were instituted in Chancery for the resumption of her portion of the inheritance into the king's hands on the grounds of the inequality of the original 1373 partition, pending a new partition.

Anne tried to prevent Henry's action by claiming that by the 1414 Act whereby he had annexed his Bohun estates to the Duchy of Lancaster,

1. Cal. Close Rolls 1369-74, p. 49, order for delivery of dower, March 1373.

THE BOHUN INHERITANCE



Henry had accepted in law the original partition and could not now question its validity. Henry's attorney answered that the plea was insufficient, and the case opened in Parliament in May 1421, with Henry V present in person. His right to seize all the inheritance pending the new settlement having been established and accepted, Anne requested that the whole inheritance be considered to remain at law until a new partition should be made which would be good and effective at law. The 1414 Act was then repealed and Anne was directed to divide the estates, Henry having first choice. As the final division was based on the convenience of administration of Henry's share within the Duchy of Lancaster system, and as his estates remained valued at £100 per annum less than those of Anne, it is unlikely that Anne herself played more than a nominal part in the actual division. Henry immediately annexed his share of the Bohun estates to the Duchy lands in perpetuity.¹

1. Rot. Parl., Vol. IV, pp. 135-40.

Anne was given the choice of a pardon for entering her lands without suing for livery, or the king's licence to enter. She chose the latter and, on 12 July 1421, was granted licence for entry as from 23 May, the day of the partition.¹ Her new estates included the lordships of Brecon, Hay and Huntingdon in the Welsh March, Kymbolton lordship in Huntingdonshire, Haresfield manor in Gloucestershire and various other manors, most of which were in Essex. Eleanor Bohun had originally held the fee-farm of Essex, her husband Thomas of Gloucester taking the title earl of Essex in 1380. By the 1421 partition Anne lost this fee-farm but received those of Hereford and Northampton, which titles both she and her son assumed.² She lost Caldecote lordship and the castle and manor of Pleshey in Essex, which had been the main residence of her father, and where he and Eleanor Bohun had founded a college in 1393. Her new estates were assessed at £1202.18.11½ and at the time of the partition 3000 marks were due to the king from Brecon and Hay. Anne undertook to comply with arrangements made by the Duchy council for levying this sum.³ The necessity for raising this sum may account in part for the reputation for harshness and bad lordship which Anne and her son had in Brecon lordship.⁴

There is no doubt that Anne was treated badly, that the partition was forced upon her and that Henry V was acting purely for his own profit and convenience. Two sources of future grievance were left unresolved in 1421, and neither appears ever to have been settled. The knights'

1. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1416-22, p. 381.

2. Anne Stafford's son, Henry Bouchier, was granted the fee-farm of Essex in June 1461 on his creation as earl of Essex (GEC, Vol. 5, pp. 137-8).

3. Nicolas, Proceedings, Vol. II, p. 298.

4. E. Poole, The Illustrated History and Biography of Brecknockshire from the Earliest Times to the Present Day (Brecknock 1886), pp. 16-17.

fees and advowsons were left out of the 1421 partition and remained undivided despite Anne's petitions to the king and to the minority Council. In 1433 she was awarded 2000 marks as damages and costs because no settlement had yet been made,¹ but no further action on the knights' fees and advowsons seems to have been considered. The second problem concerned the castle and town of Bronllys, the lordship of Cantref Selyf and one third of Penkelly barony, all near Brecon. These estates had been purchased by William Bohun, earl of Northampton, in 1351/2 and, because of their proximity to Brecon lordship, had already been the cause of a prolonged dispute between Thomas of Gloucester and Henry, earl of Derby, who had held Brecon in right of his wife Mary Bohun. Derby claimed the estates as part of Brecon lordship, while Gloucester disputed this and wanted them to be divided. The dispute had lasted for over ten years but in 1396 it appeared that Gloucester had been granted other estates in return for the surrender of his interests in these estates.² In 1421, when Anne Stafford had been awarded Brecon lordship in the partition of estates, Henry V reversed his father's argument and, denying that the estates were part of the lordship, wanted them to be partitioned, while Anne claimed them as part of Brecon lordship. Until the matter should be settled, the estates were committed to the keeping of the former receiver and steward of Brecon for two years, the annual farm of £73.1.2 $\frac{3}{4}$ to be shared between Henry and Anne.³ This arrangement remained as the only settlement of the dispute, the commissions for custody of the lands being renewed in 1423 and 1428.⁴ Anne had

1. Rot. Parl., Vol. IV, p. 415; Cal. Close Rolls 1429-35, p. 203.

2. Holmes, Estates of the Higher Nobility, p. 25 and note 3.

3. Cal. Fine Rolls 1413-22, p. 400.

4. Ibid. 1422-30, p. 33; Issues of the Exchequer, ed. F. Devon (London 1837), p. 416.

no reason to be satisfied with the arrangement, for by 1431 her share of the annual farm was already three years in arrears.¹ After Anne's death in 1438, her share of the annual farm became payable to her son Humfrey Stafford, although payment was not authorised until December 1440.² Payment was apparently made direct to Stafford, for payment of the farm of £36.10.7 appears on none of his accounts although Cantref Selyf and Bronllys are recorded on the valor of 1447-48 as being worth this sum per annum.³ From 1439 to 1444 the steward and receiver of these lands were both Stafford's men; John Abrahale, the steward from 1439, was also Stafford's Steward in Brecon, and Nicholas Poyntz, the receiver from 1440, was Stafford's receiver in Gloucestershire.⁴ After 1444 both offices seem to have been combined under one man, Walter Scull, who has no direct connexion with Stafford.⁵

Anne Stafford used part of her Bohun inheritance to provide for the two younger sons of her marriage to William Bouchier. Both married minor heiresses, becoming in right of their wives Lords Fitzwarine and Berners. In August 1431 Anne settled eleven manors, ten in Essex and one in Wiltshire, on a number of joint-feoffees,⁶ probably directing that they be re-enfeoffed to her sons as their marriage settlements. John, Lord Berners (d. 1474) and his wife Margery (d. 1475) were holding jointly seven of these manors at their deaths.⁷ Anne's eldest son inherited the

1. Devon (ed.), Issues of the Exchequer, p. 416.

2. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1436-41, p. 491.

3. Longleat MS 6411m20.

4. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1436-41, pp. 288, 491.

5. Ibid. 1441-46, p. 275. He was appointed steward in July 1444 but is named as receiver on Stafford's Receiver-General's accounts from 1444-45 (SRO D641/1/2/18m5; /21m6.).

6. Cal. Close Rolls 1429-35, pp. 161-2; Feet of Fines for Essex, Vol. IV, ed. P.H. Reaney and M. Fitch (Essex Archaeological Society, 1964), p. 16.

7. Calendarium Inquisitionum post mortem sive excaetorum, Vol. IV (Record Commission, 1828), pp. 367, 371.

estates of his father and his aunt, Elizabeth, Lady Bouchier (d. 1433) and her second son Thomas entered the Church, to become Archbishop of Canterbury in 1454 and a Cardinal in 1473. Anne provided for her only daughter by Bouchier by buying the marriage of John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, in 1432 for £2000.¹ Apart from the eleven manors mentioned above, the remainder of the valuable Bohun inheritance descended to her eldest son Humfrey Stafford.

As well as her efforts to secure her rights in the Bohun settlement, Anne Stafford had to fight to assert her claims to lands inherited from her father Thomas of Gloucester, whose estates had been forfeited in 1397, the year of his death, and restored in 1399 by Henry IV. In 1390, in part satisfaction of a grant of £1000 per annum, Richard II had granted Gloucester the reversions of the lordships of Oakham in Rutland and Holderness in Yorkshire.² Oakham was then held by Edward, earl of Rutland, for the lifetime of his father, Edmund duke of York. In 1398, after Gloucester's death and during the period of his disgrace, Rutland obtained a fresh grant of Oakham in tail male, which was confirmed by Henry IV in 1400.³ Anne and her husband Sir William Bouchier revived her claim to Oakham and in 1412, although the lordship was confirmed to Edward, now duke of York, it was limited for his lifetime only. On the accession of Henry V, they renewed their efforts and in December 1414 the grant to York was revoked and the lordship passed to Anne and Bouchier who, a few days later, renewed York's life-tenancy there.⁴ Oakham reverted to them less than a year later after York's death at Agincourt in October 1415. It was held by Anne for the remainder of her life,

1. Cal. Fine Rolls 1430-37, p. 117.

2. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1388-92, pp. 255-6. The grant was confirmed in 1394 (ibid. 1391-96, p. 504).

3. Ibid. 1396-99, p. 415; ibid. 1399-1401, p. 204.

4. Ibid. 1413-16, pp. 269-70.

descending without any impediment to her son Stafford in 1438.

Holderness lordship, the other reversion granted to Gloucester in 1390, was then held by Queen Anne for life. She died in 1394 and Holderness was in Gloucester's hands in 1397 when, with his other estates, it was forfeited to the Crown. Henry IV granted it in 1399 to his son Thomas, duke of Clarence, who held it until his death in 1421.¹ As he died without direct heir, the lordship passed to his brother Henry V, and after his death in 1422 to his nephew Henry VI. The lordship was apparently farmed out for a time, and it is not known when Anne Stafford revived her claim, nor the date of her recovery of the lordship, but by 1432 she was styling herself "Lady of Holderness".²

It is possible that by 1438 Stafford was already anticipating difficulties in obtaining livery of all or part of her vast estates. On 18 May 1438, five months before Anne Stafford's death, he obtained from Henry VI a promise that livery of all estates which might in the future descend to him would be made to him piece-meal, without the need to wait for all inquests to be made or for the writs of diem clausit extremum to be returned to chancery.³ After Anne's death in October 1438, he petitioned for immediate livery, fearing that because of the impending change-over of sheriffs and escha^{ea}etors, who took up office at the beginning of November each year, there would be long and costly delays in the counties before he received his inheritance. On November 1 he was granted livery of his mother's lands, paying £300 to Henry VI as an estimate of the loss of issues to the king, but the grant reserved livery of the lands of Cantref Selyf and Bronllys, the fees and advowsons of the Bohun estates, which still remained undivided, and the lordship of

1. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1399-1401, pp. 152-3.

2. Ibid. 1429-36, p. 192.

3. Ibid. 1436-41, p. 169.

Holderness.¹ The reason for withholding livery of Holderness is obscure, for the Inquest post mortem for Anne Stafford's lands in Yorkshire stated clearly that she had died seised of the lordship and that her heir was her son, Humfrey, earl of Stafford, who was of full age.²

For almost a year, Stafford and his council sought to recover Holderness. Letters patent of former kings, Acts of Parliament and other records and evidences to prove his claim were produced before the justices and serjeants of the King's Council in England and in Calais, where, in the summer of 1439, Stafford was acting as a royal ambassador for a truce with France. On August 19, 1439, he finally obtained livery of the lordship and the mesne profits as from February 2, 1439.³ The final negotiations had been undertaken on Stafford's behalf by two of his council while he was in France, and a copy of a letter from them, reporting on their progress, survives among the ^{Bagot} Stafford papers.⁴ The settlement of Holderness on a number of joint-feoffees in 1447 may be seen as an attempt to safeguard his title to the lordship for his lifetime, although the reversion was granted to the king.⁵

Stafford acquired very few estates to increase the size of his inherited lands. Before 1438 his main acquisitions seem to have been the manors of Colston Bassett and Radcliffe in Nottinghamshire which were in his hands by at least 1434,⁶ and these manors may have descended to him

1. Cal. Close Rolls 1435-41, pp. 209-11.

2. PRO E149 164/14. Stafford complained in his petition for livery of Holderness that he was being denied livery "for no reason" (Cal. Close Rolls 1435-41, p. 211).

3. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1435-41, p. 294; PRO E404 57/155. John Vampage, the Attorney-General, led the case against Stafford. By 1441/2, he was a member of Stafford's council (SRO D641/1/2/17m4d).

4. SRO D1721/1/11/124. Below, Appendix III (b), p. 354

5. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1446-52, p. 78.

6. William Heaton, of Oakham, was steward of the manors in this year (PRO SC6 954/11m1).

by inheritance. Edmund de Stafford (d. 1308) had married a sister and co-heir of Ralph, Lord Basset of Drayton. There was some confusion over the inheritance of the Basset estates after the death of another Ralph, Lord Basset, in 1390, which may explain why no Basset manors were included in the Inquest post mortem lands of Edmund, earl of Stafford, in 1403, although the Inquest post mortem of Lord Basset's widow in 1403 confirmed his heirs as being the earl of Stafford and Alice, wife of William Chaworth, descended from a sister of Margaret Basset.¹ These two manors may have been Stafford's share of the inheritance. Stafford's main territorial acquisition was the castle and manor of Maxstoke in Warwickshire. Maxstoke Castle, which had been built in the mid-fourteenth century by Sir William de Clinton, earl of Huntingdon, became the main centre of Stafford's household. According to Dugdale, Stafford exchanged the manors of Whiston and Woodford in Northamptonshire for Maxstoke with Sir John de Clinton in 1437.² There is however a fine, dated February 1438, made between de Clinton and his wife, and John Bamburgh and William Danby, in which de Clinton and his wife released Maxstoke and its members to the other two for 1000 marks.³ Maxstoke was in Stafford's hands by February 10, for his first account for the manor runs from this date.⁴ The Northamptonshire manors may have figured somewhere in the transaction for they disappear from the Stafford records by 1438. It may be noted that Sir John de Clinton was the

1. GEC, Vol. 2, pp. 3-4.

2. Dugdale, Baronage, Vol. 1, p. 165; Victoria County History of England: Warwickshire, Vol. IV, p. 139; Northamptonshire, Vol. IV, p. 289.

3. Warwickshire Feet of Fines 1345-1509, ed. L. Drucker (Dugdale Society XVIII, 1943), p. 158. A John Bamburgh was Stafford's steward in Kent between at least 1428 and 1442. William Danby was perhaps brother to Robert Danby of Great Danby, Yorkshire, the Chief Justice, whom Stafford retained from 1447/8 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 69).

4. SRO D641/1/2/269ml.

poorest of the barons, his taxable income in 1436 being assessed at £60 per annum.¹

In September 1442 Stafford settled the manor of Mere in Staffordshire, with its rents and appurtenances in Mere, Redwood, Mereway, Side-way, Aston, Chesterton, Audley, Nutburgh, Geringshall, Bertherton and Stretton, on Ralph Macclesfield and his heirs in exchange for the manors of Bosley and Macclesfield and lands in Christleton, Cheshire.² He held Bosley manor for only a few years, during which he was involved in a long lawsuit with Sir Thomas Stanley of Lathom and Knowsley, Lancashire, and on 1 April 1446 he granted the manor to Stanley, retaining the reversion rights only.³ Macclesfield and the lands in Christleton he retained only with difficulty as these lands were also evidently coveted by Stanley and his son, the first Stanley earl of Derby. Other acquisitions in the Staffordshire area were the manor of ^{Church} Eaton, the reversion of which he bought in c.1448 for 300 marks,⁴ and Blymenhall manor which escheated to him in 145⁶ on the failure of an heir to his tenant, William Hump^{er}peston.⁵

The only other permanent acquisitions of land seem to have been the manors of Buckingham and Burton, alienated to Stafford in 1446,⁶ and the manors of Talgarth and Jonesfield, near Brecon. These last two manors were mortgaged to Stafford and his wife by James, Lord Berkeley.

1. Grey, "Income tax of 1436," p. 618.

2. SRO D641/1/2/54m2d; /55mm.8,8d.

3. The Stafford receiver's account, 1445-46, contains expenses for various lawyers and other retainers riding to Chester, "concerning a certain plea by writ of right regarding Bosley manor in April and again in June, to have a judgment made, and then to Bosley to deliver seisin to Stanley" (SRO D641/1/2/65m11).

4. VCH Staffordshire, Vol. IV, p. 93; SRO D1721/1/1/128b, 129a.

5. SRO D641/1/2/62m10 — the first account for this manor; VCH Staffordshire, Vol. IV, p. 67.

6. VCH Buckinghamshire, Vol. III, p. 482.

This endentur made the 16th day of Feveryer anno 19 (1441) witnesseth that Nicholas Poyntz esquire hath delyvered at London to Thomas Arblaster esquire, relese of the manoir of Jonesfeld and Talgarth made by James, Lord Berkeley to Humfrey, Erle of Stafford and Anne his wife upon the condicion that if so be that the seid Nicholas paye or do paye to the seid Thomas £113 by the fest of alle Halowen next comyng or any tyme betwene this and that fest that thanne the seid Thomas shall delyver again to the seid Nicholas the seid relese or elles the seid Thomas shall delyver the same relese to the seid Erle to have and enioy it aftir the tenir and effect therof for ever.¹

The manors duly passed into Stafford's hands.

Most royal grants of land to Stafford were temporary, either in their nature or because of political circumstance. In June 1426, Stafford and John Stafford, bishop of Bath and Wells, were granted custody of two thirds of the lands of Ralph, earl of Westmorland, during the minority of the heir, his grandson Ralph,² who was the son of Ralph's son and heir by his first wife Margaret, daughter of Earl Hugh of Stafford. The lands were however greatly reduced by the large number of manors and lands settled by Earl Ralph on his second wife Joan Beaufort, who happened to be Stafford's mother-in-law. The minority lasted only until 1427/8. In 1433, Stafford and others were granted the custody of the abbey of Burton-on-Trent for seven years, "the abbot and convent thereof having been impoverished by the misrule of preceding abbots and the encroachments of its neighbours".³ In 1439 he was granted custody of the lands of Vale Royal Abbey, which was in a similar condition, it being estimated that £1000 would be needed to repair its estate.⁴ Finally,

1. SRO D641/1/2/167, a note attached to the account of Nicholas Poyntz, receiver, who in this transaction was obviously acting for Lord Berkeley. Poyntz himself had bought two manors from Berkeley in 1440 for 300 marks (J.C. Wedgwood, A History of Parliament 1439-1509, Vol. I, Biographies (London 1936), p. 698 note 2).

2. Cal. Fine Rolls 1422-30, p. 129.

3. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1429-36, p. 286. Two of the other custodians were John Harper and Robert Whitgreve, of Staffordshire, both retained by Stafford.

4. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1436-41, p. 389.

between April and August 1454, during the vacancy in the Archbishopric of Canterbury, custody of the temporalities of the see was granted to Stafford, Henry and John Bouchier, his half-brothers, and four others, at an annual farm of £400.¹ The new Archbishop was another half-brother, Thomas Bouchier.

The largest single grant of royal estates to Stafford, in May 1438, also proved of short-term benefit. This grant consisted of the manors of Atherstone in Warwickshire, Wedonbeck in Northamptonshire, two thirds of the farm of Netherwiresdale manor in Lancashire with its reversion, and the fee-farms of Stafford and Westcombe and Bedwynd, Wiltshire, all for life.² In September 1443, Stafford granted his life-interest in Wedonbeck to the Provost and Royal College of Eton, to whom Henry VI had previously granted the reversion.³ Henry granted the reversion of Atherstone manor to his college of St. Mary and St. Nicholas at Cambridge in 1443,⁴ but Stafford held on to this manor until March 1451 when the whole of the 1438 grant was surrendered following the Act of Resumption of the 1450 Parliament.

Of more permanent value was the royal grant of Humfrey, duke of Gloucester's manors of Penshurst and Bayhall in February 1447.⁵ These were probably granted to Stafford for the part he had played in the arrest of Gloucester on February 18 — the grant was made on February 28, five days

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1. Cal. Fine Rolls 1452-61, p. 86. Stafford's receiver and steward in Kent were also named as custodians.
 2. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1436-41, pp. 161, 275. The original letters patent were surrendered as invalid and reissued in 1439, as they did not agree with the process issued by the Exchequer. The Receiver-General's account for 1438-39 gives details of the expense and trouble involved in the obtaining and enrolling of new letters patent (SRO D641/1/2/15m7).
 3. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1441-46, pp. 205, 360.
 4. Rot. Parl., Vol. V, p. 90; Cal. Pat. Rolls 1441-46, p. 269.
 5. Ibid. 1446-52, p. 45.

after Gloucester's sudden death. The grant was exempted from the Acts of Resumption of Henry VI's reign, including that of the Yorkist Parliament of 1455, for York needed Stafford's good-will and support to implement his victory at St. Albans. They were still in Stafford's hands at the time of his death. For his support in the last years of Henry VI's reign, Stafford received various grants from the forfeited estates of the Yorkist supporters. In January 1460 he was granted in fee the estates of Sir William Oldhall, York's Chamberlain, attainted in the Coventry Parliament in November 1459.¹ These estates included Hunsdon manor, granted to Oldhall by York, where Oldhall had had built a great manor house at a cost of some £7000, probably the profits of his years spent campaigning in France.² In March 1460 Stafford received various manors forfeited by York himself, but these were to be held only until unpaid wages and loans to the king, totalling £500, had been repaid.³ It seems that neither Oldhall's nor York's estates had been transferred to Stafford before his death in July 1460.

Stafford alienated very few of his estates. Apart from the grant of Wedonbeck to Eton College in 1443 he granted in free alms all lands and tenements which he held in Fordingbridge in Hampshire to another royal foundation, the College of St. Mary and St. Nicholas in Cambridge, but these lands were neither extensive nor valuable.⁴ Between 1456 and 1460 he seems to have sold or alienated his Norfolk manors of Wells, Sheringham, Warham and Wyverton, valued at £90.15.9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in 1447-8, for they appear neither on the Receiver-General's account for 1456-57 nor among the returns for the Inquest post mortem by the sheriff of Norfolk. A number

1. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1452-61, p. 535

2. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 647.

3. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1452-61, p. 552.

4. Rot. Parl., Vol. V, p. 132.

of manors in Wiltshire, with Chipping Ongar manor in Essex, were granted as marriage jointure to Margaret Beaufort,¹ widow of Stafford's heir who died in c.1458. After Margaret's death, these manors were reunited with the main estates inherited by her son Henry, second duke of Buckingham.

Stafford settled a number of manors and lordships jointly on himself, his wife and their heirs — Tonbridge lordship in 1430 (enrolled in 1435), Blechingley manor in 1435, Kymbolton lordship in 1443.² On himself and his wife alone, with remainder to his heirs, he settled Kymbolton lordship, Writtle and Boyton manors in Essex and four of his Gloucestershire manors, including Thornbury.³ This was in November 1458 and was probably an extra safeguard for his wife's future at a time of political disturbance and tension. In all these settlements he used trusted retainers and estate officials — Thomas Arblaster, Henry Drury, John Harper, William Hexstall, William Cumberford. A large number of manors were granted to joint-feoffees to be held for his use. In December 1427, in the largest such enfeoffment, he granted twenty-nine manors, scattered over various counties in England, to a large number of joint-feoffees who included his half-brother Henry Bouchier, Humfrey, duke of Gloucester, the earls of Warwick and Suffolk, his Receiver-General and a number of other retainers.⁴ In 1458 the reversion of eleven of the same manors, as well as nine others, was settled by the feoffees on his youngest surviving son John and his wife Constance, daughter of Sir Henry Green of Drayton, probably as their marriage settlement. Constance herself inherited large estates from her father in 1468 and in January

1. SRO D641/1/2/181m8; PRO SC6 1117/11m4.

2. Cal. Close Rolls 1429-35, p. 357-8; Catalogue of Ancient Deeds, Vol. VI (London 1915), p. 264; Cal. Pat. Rolls 1429-36, p. 466; ibid. 1441-47, p. 133.

3. Ibid. 1452-61, p. 469.

4. Cal. Close Rolls 1422-29, pp. 318, 321-3.

1470 John Stafford was made earl of Wiltshire by Edward IV. He died in 1474 and Constance held the estates until 1476 when they descended to Edward Stafford, their son. The reversion of only two of the manors of Stafford's 1427 settlement seems to have been granted to Stafford's second son Sir Henry Stafford and his wife Margaret, countess of Richmond, herself an heiress, but he bequeathed to them £400 per annum from rents and reversions in his will.¹ Henry Stafford died without direct heir in 1471 and his widow held the manors, Rugby and Whatcote in Warwickshire, until her death in 1509. All the manors settled on Stafford's sons eventually came back to the main Stafford inheritance through failure of heirs to Edward son of John Stafford, or to Sir Henry Stafford. In 1447 Stafford obtained a licence to enfeof the lordship of Holderness to use "to do the last will of the grantor", with reversion to the king.² Edward IV took it into his own hands in 1461 but then granted it to Stafford's widow, to be held during pleasure.³

After Stafford's death, his estates passed into royal wardship for the minority of his heir, Henry, second duke of Buckingham, his grandson aged five years. His widow Anne, duchess of Buckingham, was assigned her dower lands in November 1460, the grant being confirmed in February 1461 and again by Edward IV in April 1461.⁴ In October 1460, all Stafford's English estates had been committed to Thomas Bouchier and the Duchess Anne, to be held at farm during the minority, and this grant was also confirmed in April 1461.⁵ Both grants, and that of the lordship of Holderness to Anne in July 1461, were exempted from the Act of Resumption

1. PCC, Stokton 21.

2. Cal. Pat. Rolle 1446-52, p. 78.

3. Ibid. 1461-67, p. 24.

4. Ibid. 1452-61, pp. 639, 645; ibid. 1461-71, p. 6.

5. Cal. Fine Rolls 1452-61, pp. 284-5; ibid. 1461-71, pp. 11-12.

of 1461, as were the estates of Henry and John Stafford and their wives.¹ The yearly farm on Stafford's English estates was first fixed at £379.14.4 $\frac{1}{4}$ but was reduced to £261.19.2 $\frac{3}{4}$ in February 1462, and in February 1464, in return for surrendering the custody of Stafford's heir to the king, Anne was granted the lands free of farm for seven years, as from Michaelmas 1464.² In 1467 she remarried and in 1470 custody of the estates was regranted to her and her husband, Sir William Blunt, Lord Mountjoy, for the duration of the minority.³

The Welsh estates were administered separately from the English estates. In November 1460 Richard, earl of Warwick, had been granted Stafford's Welsh lordships of Newport, Brecon, Hay and Huntingdon and this grant was confirmed in May 1461.⁴ A few days later, however, Newport was granted to William, Lord Herbert, for the minority of Henry of Buckingham at a farm of £100 per annum, and in September he, his brothers Thomas and Richard, and Walter Devereux of Ferrers were instructed to resume control of the other Welsh lordships in the name of Edward IV.⁵ Edward retained the estates in his own hands and they were joined with lands of the earldom of March and the Duchy of Lancaster to form a new complex of royal estates under Edward's Receiver-General, John Milewater.⁶ In March 1464, he granted 500 marks from Brecon, Hay and Huntingdon to his sister Anne, duchess of Exeter, for the sustenance of Stafford's grandsons, Henry and Humfrey Stafford.⁷ Not long afterwards, the two boys

1. Rot. Parl., Vol. V, p. 471.

2. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1461-71, p. 298.

3. DNB, Vol. V, p. 258.

4. Cal. Fine Rolls 1452-61, p. 287; ibid. 1461-71, p. 40.

5. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1461-71, pp. 13, 100.

6. B.P. ^{Wolfe} Woolfe, "Management of the royal estates under the Yorkist kings," EHR LXXI (1956), 4-5.

7. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1461-67, p. 324.

were given into the custody of Edward's Queen, Elizabeth Woodville, and the same annual grant of revenues was given to her, together with the £100 farm of Newport lordship, "for the better maintenance of the King's kinsman, Henry, duke of Buckingham and Humfrey, his brother", who were being maintained at her expense.¹ Henry of Buckingham's marriage was also granted to the Queen, and in 1465/6 he was married to her sister, Catherine Woodville. The Welsh estates remained under the administration of the same Receiver-General until the end of the minority.

In October 1471 Henry, duke of Buckingham, aged sixteen, was granted a licence to enter the lands of his uncle, Sir Henry Stafford, whose heir he was.² Edward IV was obviously trying to attract the support of his young brother-in-law, who was one of his wealthiest subjects, for in January 1473, when he was still only seventeen, Henry Stafford was declared of age, and granted a licence to enter all the estates and possessions in England and Wales, of which Humfrey, duke of Buckingham, had died seised,³ providing that the grant was not to the prejudice of Anne, duchess of Buckingham or to her late husband's executors, and thus the minority came to an end, after eleven and a half years.

1. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1461-67, pp. 463, 464.

2. Ibid. 1467-77, p. 298.

3. Ibid., pp. 367, 507.

CHAPTER THREE

III

THE ACCOUNTS

A study of the administration of the Stafford estates between 1423 and 1460 falls into two periods. The first covers the years 1423 to 1438, from the time of the livery of his estates to Humfrey Stafford to the death of his mother Anne, the dowager countess of Stafford. During this time, there were two separate Stafford administrations, each with its own officials and producing its own records for its own estates. The second period runs from 1438, when Stafford united his mother's estates with his own, until 1460, when his death at Northampton caused the vast complex of estates to be split up for the period of the minority of his heir. This period, from 1438 to 1460, corresponds with an increase in the numbers of records and accounts, both central and local, which have survived. It is, therefore, easier to obtain a picture of the highly developed administrative system at work on the estates for this later period and it is on this period that attention in this and later chapters will mainly be concentrated.

Only a few accounts from the earlier period survive, and most of these were produced on Anne Stafford's estates. There are several Receiver-General's accounts, surviving in two sequences, from 1406 to 1412, when the estates were administered by Anne Stafford's third husband, Sir William Bouchier, and for 1430-35, when she was again a widow. Her Receiver-General was Thomas Laurence, formerly Receiver-General of Edmund Stafford, her second husband. In the first set of accounts, for 1406-12, he styles himself "Generale Receptor Willelmi Bourgchier militis", and in the 1430-35 accounts "Generale Receptor Domine Anne Comitisse

Staffordie Buk' Hereford' Northampton' ac domine Brechonie".¹ There are a few ministers' accounts from the officials of her Gloucestershire manors, and one account from Oakham lordship, all of which were accountable to the Receiver-General. No receivers' accounts have survived, although it is known that Anne had separate receiverships for Kent, Brecon and, probably, for Holderness. Although recovered by at least 1432,² Holderness appears on none of the Receiver-General's accounts, and it must be assumed that a receiver here was accounting directly to Anne Stafford. Finally, for all of Anne's estates except the Welsh lordships and Holderness, there is a valor, in French, for the year 1434-35.³ There are fewer accounts for Humfrey Stafford's estates for this period. No Receiver-General's accounts or valors survive. There are ministers' accounts for Cause in Shropshire for 1423-24, for the Staffordshire manors 1433-34, for the Warwickshire manors for 1437-38 and for his two Gloucestershire manors, Eastington and Alkerton, for 1437-38.⁴ All these manors, except for those in Staffordshire which formed a separate receivership, accounted to the Receiver-General. Receivers' accounts survive only for the Kent and Surrey receivership for 1428-30, and for the Newport receivership for 1434-35.⁵ The Kent and Surrey account is unusual in that it runs for two years, though it may be that the reason was the appointment of a new receiver at about this time, causing a certain amount of confusion. It is also unusual, for a receiver's account, in that it is in the form of one long roll, with no separate ministers' accounts for individual manors, but with a very long and detailed discharge account by the receiver

SRO

1. ^ D641/1/2/7m1; /8m1; /9m1; /10m1; /12m1; /13m1; /14m1.
2. When Anne was styling herself "Lady of Holderness" (Cal. Pat. Rolls 1429-36, p. 192).
3. PRO SC6/811.
4. SRO D641/1/2/241; /53; /269; /166.
5. SRO D641/1/2/231; Glamorgan Record Office, Cardiff, D/DCM/45.

covering expenditure on repair, livery charges and so on for various manors.

After 1438, which saw Stafford's inheritance of his mother's estates, there is a comparative abundance of estate records. Receiver-General's accounts survive for the years 1438-39, 1444-45, 1449-50, 1450-51 and 1456-57.¹ There are ministers' accounts for various manors accountable to the Receiver-General, including several Warwickshire account rolls, account rolls for the Northamptonshire manors for 1440-41(?), the Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire feodaries' accounts for 1451-52(?), accounts for the Nottinghamshire manors for 1456-57 and for Oakham lordship in Rutland for 1459-60.² There are also three valors for all Stafford's estates, for the years 1439-40, 1441-42 and 1447-48.³ Unfortunately, no valors survive for the estates in the 1450s, from which it might have been possible to notice the effects, if any, of the early years of the Wars of the Roses on the financial conditions of the estates.

Several sets of receivers' accounts survive, for Kent and Surrey, for 1445-46 and for 1453-54,⁴ for Brecon in 1453-54,⁵ for Newport lordship for the years 1446-47, 1447-48, 1451-52 and 1456-57,⁶ and for Staffordshire for 1437-38, 1442-43, 1444⁻⁴⁵, 1445-46, 1452-53, 1454-55, 1455-56 and 1457-58.⁷ For Stafford's new receivership, created for the estates in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Hampshire, there are accounts for every year from 1439 to 1461,⁸ except for 1440-41, 1444-45, 1454-55 and 1455-56,

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1. SRO D641/1/2/15; /18; /21; PRO SC6 1305/4; SRO D641/1/2/23.
 2. SRO D641/1/2/270; /271; /272; /273; PRO SC6 1040/15; SRO D641/1/2/264; /254; PRO SC6 954/11; SRO D641/1/2/266.
 3. SRO D641/1/2/16; /17; Longleat MS 6411.
 4. SRO D641/1/2/233; /234.
 5. CPL Breconshire Deeds, 4.
 6. NLW Tredegar MS 146; PRO SC6 924/23; /24; /25.
 7. PRO SC6 988/12; SRO D641/1/2/54; /55; /56; /57; /58; /59; /60; /62; /63.
 8. SRO D641/1/2/167-181.

although some of the accounts follow the pattern of the declared account,¹ rather than that of the full-length receiver's account with ministers' accounts attached. The declared accounts for the Gloucester receivership cover the years 1447-48, 1449-50, 1453-54, 1457-58 and 1458-59. These declared accounts were a second series of estate accounts produced by the receivers. There is only one complete set for all the receiverships, for the year 1447-48,² but incomplete sets survive for the years 1449-50 and 1454-55,³ the 1449-50 set lacking an account from the Holderness receiver, and the 1454-55 set accounts from both the Holderness and Kent and Surrey receivers. There are also individual declared accounts surviving for some receiverships — the Gloucestershire accounts mentioned above, and accounts for the Dover receivership for the years 1456-57, 1457-58 and 1459-60.⁴ These declared accounts provide the only documents of account to survive for the receiverships of Holderness, Cause and Dover.

The Receiver-General's accounts, the valors and the Kent and Surrey receiver's account for 1428-30 all follow the same pattern, of a continuous account on a number of membranes stitched together to form one long roll. The receiver's account and the accounts of the ministers of the manors within the receivership for any one year were written on a separate membrane, or membranes, and sewn together at the top into one bundle, and kept together for easy reference. For some reason, the number of ministers' accounts included in a bundle varies from year to year. The variation in number appears to be purely fortuitous and had nothing to do with the acquisition of new manors or the alienation of older estates,

1. See below, pp. 81-88

2. SRO D641/1/2/19.

3. SRO D641/1/2/20; /22.

4. SRO D641/1/2/236; /237; /238.

but was apparently entirely a matter of survival. In the Staffordshire receivership, for example, the bundle of accounts for 1445-46¹ lacks membranes six and seven, which are probably the accounts for Hugh Stafford's lands and Macclesfield manor. The account for Kent and Surrey for 1445-46² is very muddled: the receiver's own account is sewn on the top of the bundle instead of at the bottom, and the membranes which are sewn together with it are numbered in this sequence — nine, seven, ten, four; the rest are missing completely.³ In the receivership of Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Hampshire, only the ministers' accounts for Gloucestershire are sewn together with the receiver's account, those for Wiltshire and Hampshire being sewn together in a separate bundle. Thus, although ministers' accounts for the Gloucestershire manors survive for each year in which a full-length receiver's account survives, ministers' accounts for the Wiltshire and Hampshire manors survive only for the years 1448-49 and 1454-55.⁴ For the Gloucestershire manors, however, accounts for Rendcombe manor and for the Honour of Gloucester are not included in the main bundle of accounts. They survive separately for the years 1441-42 and 1452-53;⁵ otherwise they have been lost. Newington manor accounts survive only for certain years. For 1441-42, the account is sewn with the Rendcombe and Honour of Gloucester accounts. For 1448-49 and 1452-53 the account is written on the end of the membrane for the receiver's account, as if it had not been compiled at the same time as all the others, but at a later date.

1. SRO D641/1/2/56.

2. SRO D641/1/2/233.

3. In references to this account in the following pages, the contemporary numbering of the membrane is given first, with the actual sequence number in brackets afterwards.

4. PRO SC6 1117/8; SRO D641/1/2/216.

5. SRO D641/1/2/169; /177.

The ministers' accounts for the manors accountable to the Receiver-General were never attached to the Receiver-General's own account but sewn together according to county, and probably kept in the chief manor in each county rather than with the Receiver-General's accounts in Stafford's Treasury in London, or at Maxstoke Castle. The policy of dispersing of accounts over the country, rather than storing them together in one place, may explain why so few accounts for individual manors within the Receiver-General's area have survived. The exception is the Warwickshire manor accounts. Maxstoke was the main centre of the Household and it is likely that the Receiver-General's accounts as well as the ministers' accounts for Warwickshire were kept here. Ministers' accounts survive for every year for which there is a Receiver-General's account, as well as for the year 1442-43, which may suggest that the two sets of accounts were kept together.

All accounts, apart from the declared accounts, followed the same general pattern and were modelled on manorial accounts developed in the thirteenth century.¹ The receivership was a product of the fourteenth century, but receivers' accounts followed the same form as the manorial accounts, for baronial arrangements were "rooted in manorial usage".² The account was usually contained on one membrane, with a money account on one side and a stock account on the other, although by the fifteenth century the money account could extend over several membranes and stock accounts were comparatively rare. Fragmentary stock accounts are to be found, however. Attached to the Stafford Granger's account for 1437-38 is a stock account for crops;³ with the declared account for Holderness

1. Denholm-Young, Seigneurial Administration, pp. 120-130.

2. J.F. Baldwin, "The Household administration of Henry de Lacy and Thomas of Lancaster," EHR XLII (1927), 185.

3. PRO^{SC6} 988/12m1.

for 1447-48, there is a livestock account;¹ there is a wine account with the Gloucester receiver's account for 1448-49² and a list of utensils attached to his accounts for 1446-47.³

The account began with the name of the manor or receivership, that of the man presenting the account, and his official title. In some cases the tenor of the letters patent of his appointment was included in the heading of the account, describing the status of the accountant and the scope and nature of his office. It could be quite a brief statement or very detailed, as on the account of Walter Chaughton, esquire,

quem dominus per litteras suas patentes datas London' 23 die Novembris anno 30 (1451) dicti Regis nunc constituit et assignavit feodarium suum in comitibus Wiltes' et Berk' ac ad omnia quecunque bona et catalla ratione quacunque domino infra comitates predictas forisfaciabiles pro domino seisienda arestanda et retinenda et meliori modo quo poterit vendici exponenda et de denariis unde provenientibus respondenda percipientem de domino causa predicta secundum ad quod inde domino eisdem de causis accrescere poterit iuxta discrecionem domini receptoris aut Auditoris ibidem pro tempore existentis.⁴

The name of the lord of the manor or receivership was not usually stated on the account, as it was unnecessary on accounts like these, intended for private use only. On the ministers' accounts for the Staffordshire manors for 1442-43, however, nearly all the accounts in the bundle announce that the accountant is the official of the earl of Buckingham, and the receiver's account gives all of Stafford's titles, "lord Humfrey, Count of Buckingham, Stafford, Northampton and Perche".⁵ It will be remembered that between 1438 and 1444, the years from his mother's death until his creation as duke of Buckingham, Stafford was

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1. SRO D641/2/19m7.
 2. SRO D641/1/2/174m8d.
 3. SRO D641/1/2/173m9.
 4. SRO D641/1/2/216m6d. Feodary's account for 1454-55.
 5. SRO D641/1/2/54mm. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10.

stressing his right to the title "earl of Buckingham" by using it on all official documents.¹ These accounts might suggest that he was stressing his right on his own estates and private records also. The Gloucester receiver's account for 1459-60 is given as that of the receiver "of the all powerful Prince Humfrey, formerly Duke of Buckingham, and of Anne, Duchess of Buckingham",² for Stafford had died on 10 July 1460, during the period of account, and his estates were granted to his widow at farm.

Some indication of the date of the account is given in the title, usually by regnal year. The declared accounts for Stafford and Cause for 1449-50, besides giving the regnal year 28-29 Henry VI, give also the date A.D.1450 or A.Dom.1450, but this was not the usual practice.³ Accounts ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas (September 29 to September 28) on most accounts, although there were occasionally local variations. The accounts for Petersfield in Hampshire and Newenham in Gloucestershire, for example, ran from the feast of St. Hilary each year, i.e. January 13. If an official were accounting for less than the year, the exact period is clearly stated. The Maxstoke manor account for 1437-38 runs from 10 February 1438, the date on which seisin was probably granted to Stafford, until Michaelmas 1438, "scilicet per dimidium annum et xlix dies".⁴ Anne Stafford's Receiver-General retired during the 1434-35 year of account. His successor, William Denys, presents the account for that year but attached to his account is a view of account of Thomas Laurence, from Michaelmas 1434 until the feast of Pope Gregory, for the revenues of the manors which had accounted to him during this

1. Above, p. 24.

2. PRO SC6 1117/10m8.

3. SRO D641/1/2/20mm. 2, 3.

4. SRO D641/1/2/269ml.

period.¹ The declared accounts for Dover follow a pattern of their own. The 1454-55 account runs from September 14 to September 13, that of 1457-58 from September 10 to September 9 and that of 1459-60 from September 9.² The reason for this slipping back one day each year is unknown.

It was often only the top account in each bundle which bore the date in full, the other accounts, including the receiver's own account, the last in the bundle, usually being dated simply "per tempus predictum", a reference back to the top account. This practice causes problems if the accounts in the bundle become separated, for they then have to be dated from internal evidence, which may not always be reliable. Thus the Northamptonshire accounts are dated, tentatively, for 1440-41, the feodaries' accounts for Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire for (1)1451-52.³ The reason for dating only the top account is probably that the accounts would all be written at the same time, in the same place, perhaps by the same man, and sewn together immediately. This would occur at the time of the audit, when all ministers were summoned to the administrative centre of the receivership to render account. They brought with them their surplus cash for the year, with all tallies, bills, warrants and other evidences of financial transactions during the past year, and the auditor's staff, working from the basic formulae of previous accounts, would then compile the charge of the new account while the accountant was in fact giving the account of his term of office before the auditor. It is unlikely that a reeve, or even a bailiff, would write his own account, despite the spread of literacy in the fifteenth century which is reflected in the replacement of the wooden tallies by indented bills

1. SRO D641/1/2/14m6.

2. SRO D641/1/2/22m7; /236ml; /237ml; /238ml.

3. SRO D641/1/2/264; /254.

on most of Stafford's manors. Most of the accounts are very neatly and clearly written, with few erasures, deletions or alterations, and would seem to be the work of trained men. The fact that the accounts were sewn together and stored together suggests that they would not be available on the manor to act as models for the accountant there, and that entries were copied from one account to the next may be seen by the mistakes made in the accounts, where an entry, or group of words, is copied twice through inattention, or where mistakes are perpetuated from one account to the next over a long period.¹ As many entries in the charge of an account are word for word repetitions of entries from previous accounts, the problem is raised of deciding how out-dated the information is.² On individual accounts there is sometimes mention of a payment of a clerk's fee for writing the account, but this is by no means common, thus supporting the thesis that the auditor's staff, or the receivers, took over the task of writing the accounts. On the Brecon receiver's account for 1453-54 there is this entry: "payment to the clerk writing all the accounts of Brecon and Hay — 10s."³

Medieval accounting was based on the charge/discharge system, and the first item on any account was a charge of arrears, carried forward from a previous account, which were outstanding. This was followed by all the other charges against the accountant for monies which he was supposed to have collected from the issues of that year. Each item was usually specified in considerable detail except for that of Court perquisites, which was given as a lump sum, since details could be found on the court rolls. On a minister's account the charge was made up mainly of payments of rents and farms, fixed annual sums based on

1. Below, p. 178.

2. Cf. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, 1415-1536 (Cardiff, 1963) p. 162

3. CPL Breconshire Deeds no. 4, m8.

the evidences of rentals, leases and court rolls. Casual profits from the sale of produce, which could fluctuate greatly from one year to the next, were also included in the charge. The charges on the receivers' and Receiver-General's accounts consisted of cash receipts from individual manors and officials within the receivership, and sometimes of receipts from other sources, such as fee-farms of boroughs or counties, fines for dissolving the Great Sessions in the Welsh Marcher lordships, and, occasionally, assised rents and farms not collected by local officials. Together, these charges and the arrears constituted the total sum of money which the accountant was supposed to have collected during the year and for which he was bound to answer at the annual audit. Theoretically, a receiver should have been able to answer for all sums charged against him, as representing actual cash delivered to him by his local officials. Ministers' accounts, however, were often based on obsolete or old rentals, and the charges against them were often unrealizable. The first item of the discharge on the minister's account was, accordingly, often an allowance for decayed rents or for lands unproductive for want of a tenant. The difficulty in discovering how much of the charge was collected on any receiver's or minister's account lies in the arrears, however, for no indication is given of how successful officials were in collecting the amounts charged against them.

At the audit, the auditor discharged the accountant for payments or allowances made according to the record of tallies, bills or acquittances. For every payment made, the accountant was required to produce the warrant authorizing the payment, and the tally or bill as a receipt. The local officials met purely agricultural or administrative charges such as fees and wages to manorial officials, exchequer costs of parchment, ink, paper, candles, the cost of repairs on routine manorial

maintenance, and harvesting costs. On some manors, part of the revenue was assigned by Stafford for the payment of retaining fees and annuities, but these were more usually met by the receiver. The final payment on the manorial account, the "liberaciones denariorum", represented the total surplus cash profit of the manor for that year, made to the receiver either in person or by the hands of his collector during the year, and recorded by tally or bill, or else delivered "super comptum" to the receiver at the time of the audit. The entry on the minister's account recording payment was initialled by the receiver to signify receipt of the money.¹

Expenditure on the receiver's account also covered routine administrative costs, payment of fees, wages, exchequer expenses and stewards' and auditor's expenses. Large repairs, to castles or manors, were also discharged against the receiver's account, and he paid for pastures rented for Stafford's livery, and other livery expenses. The Receiver-General paid the wages of the Household staff and also the largest direct contribution to the Treasurer of the Household, although some share of the Household expenses was covered by payments from local receivers. The receiverships shared the cost of retaining fees and annuities, although within the Receiver-General's area these were assigned directly on individual manors. Payments to creditors by Stafford's warrant to the receiver were shared between the receiverships, as were various miscellaneous expenses of Stafford or his Household. The final payment on the receiver's account represented money delivered throughout the year to Stafford. The receipt was an indented bill, dated and signed, or sealed, by Stafford and noted on the account. Originally, the receivers had made their payments of surplus cash through

1. Below, p. 105.

the Receiver-General, but by c.1445 this system had been dropped and all receivers accounted directly to Stafford.¹

After all items had been discharged, a balance was struck on the account, the ideal situation being a correspondence of charge and discharge, the accounting official then retiring quit for the year. More commonly, a sum of money remained due to Stafford from his official, and this sum became the arrears of the next year's account. It by no means always represented failure to collect, still less dishonesty on the part of the official, for it was often necessary for the official to retain a certain amount of money in hand instead of delivering it all to his receiver or to Stafford. This money in hand was used to meet expenses which might arise before the next collection of rents or farms, the usual collection dates being at the feast of the Annunciation (March 25) and at Michaelmas (September 29), although in some places there were also collections of revenue at Christmas and Midsummer. If an unnecessarily large sum of money remained in the hands of an official after the audit, extra payments of cash would be made. On the Cause account for 1454-55, total arrears after the audit were £90.3.11½, of which the receiver himself owed £21.4.9. He made a further payment to Stafford of £20, retaining in hand only £1.4.9, and reducing the arrears on his account to £70.3.11½.²

From the total of arrears owing on the account, the auditor could allow the accountant to claim respite for certain sums, usually in rents which were technically uncollectable but not yet acknowledged as such, or in rents which were disputed, pending settlement by Stafford and his council. The bailiff of the Honour of Gloucester was claiming 10s. res-

1. Below, pp. 164-165.

2. SRO D641/1/2/22m4.

spite representing 1s. rent for that year, with 9s. in arrears.¹ The accountant could also claim respite for payment made by him but for which he had not yet received the necessary warrant from Stafford, or for annuities paid but for which he had not obtained a receipt. Once the warrant or receipt was obtained allowance was made on the account. The sums in respite, whether representing rents which could not be collected or unauthorized expenditure, were often allowed to accumulate into large sums, mainly through administrative slowness or inefficiency, and could thus give a misleading figure for arrears to be carried forward. In Staffordshire in 1457-58, arrears totalled £405.14.2 $\frac{3}{4}$ to be carried forward, but of this, £197.13.6 represented sums in respite for which the receiver was claiming allowance. Some of the items in respite dated from the beginning of Henry VI's reign.²

On some accounts when the balance was struck, it was found that the expenditure had exceeded the charge against the accountant and that there was a superplusage, of money owed by Stafford to his accountant. Where this happened, an allowance was made as the first item on the account for the following year. The sums involved on the ministers' accounts were never very great, and this situation never arose on the receivers' accounts for this period. The most common situation was, in fact, that the accountant was in arrears to Stafford at the audit, and the final item on such accounts was a list of names of all men owing money on the account, with the sums owed, with that year's accountant at the bottom of the list. Liability for arrears was thus spread over a number of people, who had to find surety for repayment. The bailiff of Tonbridge in Kent in 1447-48 owed £15.1.5 $\frac{1}{2}$, "for which he has found surety to the receiver by obligation".³ Payment of the bulk of arrears

1. SRO D641/1/2/177m1.

2. SRO D641/1/2/62m12.

3. SRO D641/1/2/19m6.

was probably made fairly quickly, although if large sums were involved repayment could be spread over a number of years. In the Stafford receivership in 1449, the retiring receiver owed arrears of £148.19.11 $\frac{1}{4}$. By 1455 this had been reduced to 18s.7 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., but this was still outstanding in 1458.¹ It was never too late to pay: debts were personal, and if an ex-official died, his executors were liable for his unpaid debts. In fact, in Huntingdon hundred in Brecon lordship in 1453-54, Margaret Flower, executor for her husband, was imprisoned for his debt of 18s.6d.,² although this severity was uncommon. It was rare for Stafford to pardon or write off debts, however, even those which remained on an account for decades like the £8.19.6 debt of Hugh Stanford, sometime receiver in Staffordshire, which dated from his account of 1422-23, and was still owing on the 1457-58 receiver's account.³ On the Receiver-General's account for 1444-45, however, the current Receiver-General was exonerated of £92.15.10 $\frac{3}{4}$ arrears pardoned to the former Receiver-General and former auditor,⁴ and after Stafford's death in July 1460 a great many arrears seem to have been written off. On the Stafford receiver's account for 1457-58 arrears of £405.14.2 $\frac{3}{4}$ were outstanding, many of the debts having been on the accounts for years. None of them appears on the 1460-61 account, and it seems more probable that they were written off rather than paid off.⁵

A receiver could petition for the arrears on his account to be reviewed and written off. Attached to the Stafford receiver's account for 1442-43 is a list of petitions from the receiver, Humfrey Coles,

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1. SRO D641/1/2/62m13.
 2. CPL Breconshire Dds., m 6d.
 3. SRO D641/1/2/62m13.
 4. SRO D641/1/2/18m8.
 5. SRO D641/1/2/62m13; /63m10d.

seeking remission for various sums with which he was charged for his years in office from 1433-37, and from 1439-42. The petitions were heard at Maxstoke Castle on 23 April 1443 before Stafford and his council, with the result that Cotes was exonerated of £8.0.6 wrongfully charged against him, a further £3.19.6 was placed in respite pending further consideration and he remained charged with the other items, arrears of rents totalling £8.¹ These arrears continued to accumulate on every account until 1460 when the arrears appear to have been pardoned, although the rents themselves were still charged against the receiver and arrears began to accumulate once again. Sir John Scudamore, receiver in Brecon in 1450-51, also presented a list of petitions for remission of arrears charged against him but by Michaelmas 1455 his petitions had still not yet been examined or allowed by Stafford.²

Providing that a debtor could find surety, drastic action to recover arrears was rarely resorted to. Imprisonment for debt is seldom found on Stafford's English estates and from the surviving accounts only one instance of this can be found. On the Gloucester receiver's account for 1457-58, the bailiff of Kynwardeston Hundred was paid 1s.8d. for escorting six defaulting ministers from Westcombe manor to Winchester prison, to which they had been committed by the auditor. The debts, amounting to £11.6.3½, had all been paid off by the time of the next audit.³ Imprisonment for debt seems to have been rather more

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1. SRO D641/1/2/54m11. Thomas Barbour was receiver in Staffordshire for the years 1437-39. His own arrears for these years do not appear on the account, and they may have formed part of the total of arrears pardoned to Barbour, a former Receiver-General, on the Receiver-General's account for 1444-45, mentioned above (SRO D641/1/2/18m8).
 2. SRO D641/1/2/22m2.
 3. SRO D641/1/2/179m3; /180m3.

common in Brecon lordship, where Stafford and his mother both had reputations for bad lordship and oppression, the Brecon antiquary, Hugh Thomas (d. 1714) describing Stafford as "a most miserable covetous grinding man that mightly oppressed the country ..." ¹ In Huntingdon prepositus in 1453-54, John Parker, reeve in the previous year, was in prison for his arrears of £26.6.8, £11 of which he paid on that account. ² The situation regarding imprisonment for debt was similar in Huntingdon Englishry and Welshry, but apparently not so harsh in either Brecon itself or in Hay lordship. Distraint of property for debt was also rare, although it was employed in 1457 against John Leny, son of a former receiver of Newport lordship. In 1440, Thomas Leny had stood surety for the lease of the mills of Stowe and he and his executors were later held liable for failure to repair the mills, to the sum of £40. The executors managed to evade payment until 1457, when Leny's lands in Newport, worth £1 per annum, were seized. ³

Manorial officials were held liable for their own arrears and usually no mention of them appeared on the receiver's account. It may be that in the later years of Stafford's life there was a growing awareness of the problem of arrears, for on some of the later accounts a note is made of the total arrears of the receivership. On the Gloucester receiver's accounts for 1457⁻⁵⁸ there is given the total of all arrears and respites on the various manors, and then the allocation of arrears on individuals on each manor, for the counties of Wiltshire and Hampshire as well as for Gloucestershire. ⁴ The situation in Newport receivership

1. Pugh, Marcher Lordships of South Wales, p. 240 n. 3; cf. above, p. 48 and n. 4.

2. CPL Breconshire Deeds no. 4m5.

3. PRO SC6 924/25mm5, 11.

4. SRO D641/1/2/179m3.

was different in that the receiver was charged not only with the sums paid to him by local ministers but also with their arrears. The local official, on his own account, is stated to owe a specific sum in arrears, "with which the said receiver is charged on his account by the auditor for which the said accountant is committed to the custody of the constable of the castle, to whom he must account for the aforesaid sum".¹ The constable of Newport Castle was in fact the receiver himself, and committal to his prison was probably a formality until surety for payment was found. It was in the receiver's own interest, of course, to see that the surety was sufficient.

It was obvious that the purpose of the account was not the calculation of income or expenditure or the margin of profit. This can be seen in the fact that arrears are included with receipts, decayed rents in with expenditure and that, besides the actual costs of agriculture and administration in the receivership or manor, payments to retainers or creditors were included and these, as much as the actual payments to Stafford himself, represented the real profits of the estates since, were they not assigned on a specific manor or receivership, these payments would be met by money received by the receiver or Stafford. The accounts were probably designed to keep track of income and expenditure, but, more important, to determine liability of accounting officials for unpaid income — the arrears. Careful check over arrears is maintained on all accounts. For all information, the ministers' and receivers' accounts are complementary. To assess correctly Stafford's income, expenditure and income in arrears, a complete set of all ministers', receivers' and Receiver-General's accounts, as well as the account of the Treasurer of the Household,² would be needed for any one year, and

1. NLW Tredegar MS 146, PRO SC6 924/23, /24, /25 passim.

2. The Household played no part in estate administration by the fifteenth/....

they do not all in fact survive.

There was a second series of accounts produced in the Stafford receiverships during Stafford's lifetime. Besides the full-length receiver's account prepared at the audit, the receiver also drew up another, shorter, annual financial statement, the declaration of account. These fall into two distinct groups. The first group consists of declared accounts in English and these survive among the Receiver-General's accounts for only three years, 1447-48, 1449-50 and 1454-55.¹ The set of declared accounts for 1447-48 is the only complete set of accounts from all the receiverships, containing an account for Holder-ness which is exceptional in several respects, being in Latin and following a different form from that of the other accounts. Attached to the declared account is a declared valor for the lordship for that year, and also a stock account. It is in fact a prototype of the second group of declared accounts. To this second group belong the Dover receivership declared accounts for 1456-57, 1457-58 and 1459-60, and two declared accounts for the Gloucester receivership for 1457-58 and 1458-59 as well as an account for the Stafford receivership for 1462-63,² when the estates were in the hands of Stafford's widow.

Analysis of the form of the declared account is possible but unless there are also receivers' accounts for the same year it is difficult to assess their content and purpose. It would seem that they were not designed and drawn up merely to provide a convenient summary of the longer receiver's account, as would seem likely at first glance.

fifteenth century. It was financed directly by payments from Stafford himself and indirectly by assigned revenues from the receiverships. Only two accounts of the Treasurer have survived, for 1443-44 and 1452-53 (BM Add. Roll 5962; SRO D641/1/3/3).

1. SRO D641/1/2/19; /20; /22.
2. SRO D641/1/2/66.

In the first group, the charge is abbreviated to a mere statement of arrears due from the previous year, and the amount due from the issues of the current year. The discharge gives brief details of the main items of expenditure, and includes all items respited by the auditor which, on the receiver's account, form part of the sum of arrears after the balance between charge and discharge is struck. The declared account thus provides a more realistic view of the respited items, in regarding decayed rents as finally decayed, and payments made without warrant as bona fide payments. As with the full-length receiver's account, the declared account ends with a list of names of ministers or tenants owing money, and, as the respited items are not included in this list of arrears, the total amount of arrears on the account is, in fact, a realisable sum.

There are two declared accounts for which the corresponding receiver's account also survives, for Newport for 1447-48, and for Stafford for 1454-55, and there is also a series of accounts for the Gloucester receivership which survives in this sequence: receiver's account for 1446-47, declared account for 1447-48, receiver's account for 1448-49, declared account for 1449-50. The Newport declared account for 1447-48 is an abbreviated version of the main account, apart from the transposition of respited items mentioned above. From the Gloucester accounts, however, it would appear that the declared accounts did not, of themselves, form a continuous series like the receivers' accounts but were based essentially on the figures produced by the full-length account. That is to say that the arrears figure of the declared account, because it contains the items in respite, does not tally with the arrears figure on the receiver's account, yet it is the figure on the receiver's account which is always the one carried forward on to the declared account to make up the charge with the issues of the current year.

For example:-

(a) Receiver's account for 1446-47:

arrears to be carried forward (+ respited items) .. £148.12.3 $\frac{1}{2}$

(b) Declared account for 1447-~~48~~⁴⁸:

charge: arrears £148.12.3 $\frac{1}{2}$	}	£641. 0.4 $\frac{1}{4}$
issues £492.8.0 $\frac{3}{4}$				

discharge (including respited items) £508. 5.6 $\frac{1}{2}$

.. arrears £132.14.9 $\frac{3}{4}$

(c) Receiver's account for 1448-49:

arrears brought forward (+ respites) £160.10.1 $\frac{3}{4}$

total charge £609. 2.3 $\frac{3}{4}$

arrears to be carried forward (+ respites) £129. 2.1 $\frac{3}{4}$

(d) Declared account for 1449-50:

charge: arrears £129.2.1 $\frac{3}{4}$	}	£585.11.1 $\frac{3}{4}$
issues £456.9s.				

discharge (including respites) £486.13.2 $\frac{3}{4}$

It is likely, therefore, that as on the two Newport accounts for 1447-48, the charge always corresponds on both types of account for the Gloucester receivership, and the real purpose of the declared account lies in the form of the discharge side of the account. This is not the case with the Stafford accounts for 1454-55, which show another variation in form (see page 84).

Some of the arrears in rents on the receiver's account go back to the reign of Henry V and were accumulating at the rate of £1 and £4.10.8 per annum. The declared account arrears are thus made up of charges for that year only — the receiver's own arrears, and one year's rent arrears — and ignore unpaid arrears from former ministers and arrears in rents. In this, the account is unique, for neither the other declared Stafford accounts for 1447-48 and 1449-50 nor any of the other surviving

declared accounts follow this pattern.

Stafford accounts 1454-55

							<u>Receiver's account</u>	<u>Declared account</u>
arrears	}	..	..	..	..	..	£403.19.4	£249.12.9 $\frac{1}{4}$
issues	}	..	..	..	..	..	253. 0.5 $\frac{1}{4}$	* 250. 2.5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Charge	..	..	..	..	..	..	656.19.9 $\frac{1}{4}$	499.15.2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Discharge ¹	..	..	..	..	..	..	£241. 1.2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
(+ respites)	..	..	..	..	..	..	189. 0.5 $\frac{1}{2}$	
							430. 1.8	* £428.10.9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Arrears (to be carried forward)	..	..	..	..	..	..	£226.18.1 $\frac{3}{4}$	£ 71. 4.7

The arrears are made up thus:-

receiver	..	..	..	..	..	..	£ 67. 0.11	* £ 65.13.11
former ministers	..	..	..	..	..	..	26. 6.6 $\frac{3}{4}$	
rents: Roger Aston	..	..	..	..	..	..	38. 6.8	1. 0. 0
Earl of Warwick	..	..	..	..	..	..	95. 4.0	4.10. 8
Total	..	..	..	..	..	..	226.18.1 $\frac{3}{4}$	£ 71. 4. 7

* Note: The discrepancies between these figures must be regarded as inaccuracies. For example, in the discharge of the receiver's account: payment for livery charges £9.6.7; the same payment for livery charges on the declared account £9.16.7.

One might take the charge on this declared account to run counter to the main feature of medieval accountancy in representing the amount actually collected for that year, and the discharge as representing the actual expenditure. Allowing for the fact that the receiver's own arrears in 1454-55 were only about £65, that respited items represented some £189 and that arrears were tending to increase rather than to decrease, the high figure of £249.12.9 $\frac{1}{4}$ brought forward from 1453-54 on this declared account would suggest that this includes the respited items

1. For clarity, the two sections in the discharge of the receiver's account, the expenditure and the respited items, have here been added together. It must be remembered that the respited items, the £189.0.5 $\frac{1}{2}$, would have been included in the arrears figure, £266.18.1 $\frac{3}{4}$, to give the total discharge: £430.1.8.

of the receiver's account as on the Newport and Gloucester declared accounts. It seems likely however that the receiver, in his declared account, was facing the possibility that the long-standing arrears at least would never now be collected, and that a clearer picture of the financial situation would be obtained if they were wiped off the account, as they were in fact in 1460 after Stafford's death. Rents of lands in the tenure of Roger Aston and the Earl of Warwick were not regarded as impossible to collect, however; even though the arrears of the past thirty years were wiped off, the rents still stood on the account and again began to fall into arrears and accumulate on the account at the rate of £5.10.8 per annum.

It is obvious that the declared account was not intended as an authoritative statement of the financial position in the same way as the customary, full-length, audited receiver's account. There are no auditor's marks on them, so they were obviously not intended to, nor did they, pass under the strict scrutiny of the auditor, which may explain the discrepancies in figures between them and the receiver's accounts.¹ It would also appear that the declared account was written some time after the audit. On the Brecon declared account for 1447-48, the last recorded payment of cash to Stafford is one on 18 April 1449, six months after the end of the account, and this payment would probably have been too late to appear on the receiver's account and would appear on the 1448-49 account.² It may be that the declared accounts were developed from the earlier view of account which had been made in the spring/early summer as an auxiliary to the main account, and for which no auditor's

1. Cf. the Stafford accounts above, and the Newport declared account for 1447-48 which gives the charge as £475.16.8 $\frac{1}{4}$. The receiver's account for the same year gives the figure as £475.16.9 $\frac{3}{4}$ (PRO S6 924/23m10; SRO D641/1/2/19m2).

2. SRO D641/1/2/19m1.

copy was made. It would seem however that the declared account was a more sophisticated document drawn up mainly to offset the limitations of the traditional form of account, in the problem of calculation and collection of arrears. A more realistic view was taken of the respited items which were not technically arrears, but which represented either devaluation of land or actual expenditure, and which were allowed as such. The Stafford account of 1454-55 goes a step further in the problem of arrears and admits the possibility that the account might cease to be burdened and obscured by ancient and uncollectable arrears. It is difficult, however, to see why these accounts were calculated on the basis that the sums in respite ought to be included in with the arrears in the charge.

The second group of declared accounts follows a different form from that of the first, and is more immediately recognizable as a straightforward, abbreviated version of a receiver's account and, like a receiver's account, is in Latin, not English.¹ The charge is again abbreviated to a statement of arrears and issues, but the discharge is slightly fuller and arranged under headings. Respited items are not included in the discharge but, as on the receiver's account, in with the arrears proper. There is a variation on the charge of the 1458-59 Gloucester declared account, which is given thus:-

Sum total rental of account, plus £234.18.5 $\frac{1}{2}$ of the arrears of the receiver for the previous year £651.18s, whence:
arrears received in Hampshire and Wiltshire £26.17.7 $\frac{3}{4}$
issues of this year received there £35.3.1
arrears of county Gloucester £16.1.6 $\frac{1}{2}$
issues of this year there, plus £10.6.8 from Stretton St. Margaret £338.17.3 $\frac{1}{4}$.²

1. Below, pp. 361-63, declared account for Holderness 1447-48 (SRO D641/1/2/19m5).

2. SRO D641/1/2/180m1.

This form of declared account probably was designed as a more convenient, brief statement of account than the bulky receiver's account. Interest is focused not on the individual sources of manorial profit but on the proportion of arrears on the account, where the money was being spent and, again, in whose hands lay the responsibility for outstanding arrears. Attached to each of the declared accounts of this group is a declaration of value for the receivership, which is also in Latin. This gives a statement of the sources of income, divided into rents and farms, with the deductions for the current year's expenditure, as on an ordinary valor. To the balance of profit, however, the figure of total arrears of the receivership is added. From the resulting sum deductions are made for payments to Stafford, payments by warrant, annuities, other necessary expenses and the items in respite. The sum remaining represented the total amount outstanding in the receivership, from receiver and all local ministers. The Gloucester declared valors include a full list of debtors, county by county and manor by manor. The Dover receivership list of debtors, however, is attached to the declared account itself, the declared valor being more like the ordinary full-scale valor in that it is a statement for a specific year's income, giving only that year's arrears and ignoring long-standing debts.¹

The connection between the declared accounts for Holderness, Dover, Gloucester and the later Stafford receiver's declared account, which marks them off from the accounts of the first group, is probably to be found in the person of Thomas Rogers who, in 1447-48, was the auditor in Holderness.² In August 1456 he was associated more closely with William Weldon, the senior auditor, taking over the areas of Gloucester

1. SRO D641/1/2/237m2.

2. SRO D641/1/2/19m5.

and Kent and, probably, Dover also.¹ Here he introduced this second type of declared account which had originally been produced only in Holderness. After Stafford's death in 1460 when Rogers became auditor of all the English estates, this type of account was also produced in the Stafford receivership.²

No declared account, of either type, survives for the Receiver-General's area, for any year throughout this period, and it may be that the declared account was not produced for this area. As the declared accounts of the various receiverships are found sewn together among the Receiver-General's accounts for three individual years, it may be that one of the purposes of these accounts was to provide the Receiver-General himself with some idea of the financial position in the receiverships. Although he was styled Receiver-General of all the Stafford estates,³ he in fact had no dealings of any kind in the internal affairs of the receiverships. As declared accounts are also found among the records of the receivers themselves, it is probable that more than one copy was made, especially as they were relatively short and easy to have copied out.

There was yet another form of estate account produced annually by Stafford's administration, the valor. This was the auditor's own report on the financial position of all the estates, English and Welsh. Four valors survive for the Stafford estates, one, in French, for Anne Stafford's lands for 1434-35, and three for Stafford's estates, for 1439-40, 1441-42 and 1447-48.⁴ These are all in Latin and the first,

1. SRO D641/1/2/23m6.

2. SRO D641/1/2/66.

3. SRO D641/1/2/15m1; see below, Ch. VIII, for discussion of his position.

4. PRO SC6 811; SRO D641/1/2/16; /17; Longleat MS 6411.

for 1439-40, is damaged, with at least one membrane missing. These valors are obviously modelled on those produced for the Duchy of Lancaster estates from the end of the fourteenth century,¹ and are designed to provide an analysis of the manorial accounts for each manor, county and group of counties or receivership. Beginning with the Warwickshire estates, they cover all lands under the Receiver-General first, and then each of the receiverships in turn. The 1439-40 and 1447-48 valors also include the French lordship of Perche,² and the 1447-48 valor mentions the income of half the annual farm of the disputed lordships of Cantref Selyf and Bronlles, inherited by Stafford from his mother.³ On the dorse of the 1441-42 and 1447-48 valors is a list of all retainers and annuitants, with their fees and wages.⁴ Unfortunately, there is no comparable valor on a list of annuitants for the 1450s, when political tension was increasing and one might expect to find a corresponding increase in expenditure on retaining fees.

Arrangement of information was the same throughout, with three main features: an analysis of income, a summary of expenditure and a statement of clear value. The French valor of Anne Stafford's lands provides a full account of manorial income and costs, an analysis of income and expenditure for each county, and a similar analysis for the estates as a whole. It ends with a statement of clear value, the amount paid to the countess by her Receiver-General, and the balance of issues. Stafford's valors are briefer. Rents and farms are given as lump sums, although the sources of casual revenue are specified. Fewer

1. There is a valor for all the estates of Edmund, earl of Stafford, produced by his estate administration as early as 1400-01 (SRO D641/1/2/6).

2. SRO D641/1/2/16m14; Longleat MS 641lm20.

3. Longleat MS 641lm20; see above, pp. 49-50.

4. In 1441-42, the total amount spent on fees and annuities was £903.1s.; in 1447-48 it was £943.1.4.

details of costs are given. The receiverships are dealt with in the same way as the manors, the value divided into the various categories, rents and farms, casual profits, perquisites of court. The total of the charges met by the receiver himself, fees, annuities, repairs, foreign expenses, are deducted to give the total clear value of the receivership. Stafford's valors have not the grand summary of income of all the estates which is given on the Duchy valors and on the 1434-35 valor. The 1439-40 valor, the most detailed, gives the headings for such an analysis on the final membrane, but it is not completed.

The disadvantage of the valor is that it represented the total annual amount which could have been collected, and not what was actually collected. The value of the manors is calculated on the basis of what should have been collected from all sources, but disregards the arrears. The figure therefore does not necessarily tally with that on the corresponding minister's account. The balance of clear value was not always paid to the receiver or to Stafford because of the problem of income in arrears, but no indication is given on the valor of how much did find its way to Stafford and of how much remained in arrears or in the hands of the ministers.

The purpose of the valor was probably to provide a quick reference guide to all sources of revenue and the charges on every part of the estates. It is obviously a document designed and streamlined for quick and simple reference, with elaborate analysis of each category of income and expenditure omitted. This information of gross and net annual value of each manor and receivership would be especially valuable for a lord whose lands were scattered over England and Wales, for the valor was the only estate record to provide a picture of the estates as a whole. The fact that the final calculation of total income

and expenditure remained incomplete would indicate that a landlord was not basically interested in what his estates were worth, but rather in where his money was being spent in each area, as an indication of where he could best make payments of money by warrant to creditors, or assign retaining fees and other expenses. The valor is misleading as a statement of actual income because it ignores the existence and problem of arrears, and it is necessary to refer back to the receivers' and ministers' accounts to see what the actual cash profits of the estates were, how much money actually found its way to Stafford's privy purse, and how much remained in the hands of his ministers or was uncollectable.

CHAPTER FOUR

IV

MANORIAL OFFICIALS

Administration on the Stafford estates was based upon a system of independent, decentralized receiverships covering all Stafford's possessions in England and Wales. The receivership was made up of a number of manors, boroughs and hamlets in a county or group of counties with scattered and small tenements or parts of manors being included in with the administration of the nearest manor or borough. The manor or borough formed the smallest unit in the system of administration, but was the most important. It was through exploitation of his estates that a lord obtained the income to finance himself and his Household. By the fifteenth century there was little demesne farming or direct exploitation of agricultural resources. Demesne lands and their appurtenances on the manor were now farmed out, and the manor was of negligible importance in providing the means to support the Household — the extent of the estates and commitments of a great lord made this kind of dependence on his estates impracticable. The manors now financed the Household by providing income from rents, farms and various miscellaneous sources, this income either being delivered directly to the Household administration or, more commonly, taking an indirect route through the local receiver and thence to merchants who would supply provisions and goods of all kinds.

The manorial officials were responsible to their local receiver for the collection of all such rents and farms, and to the local steward for the maintenance of law and order on the manor. They worked directly under the supervision of these two officials and of the auditor,

to whom they had to answer for their term of office once a year. The ultimate supervision came from the Lord's Council and from Stafford himself. An important landowner, especially one whose estates were scattered over a wide area, had little or no dealings with his manorial officials and, provided that his revenues were delivered on time and were sufficient for his needs, took little direct interest in the administration of the estates. The smooth running of routine administrative affairs on the estates was left entirely to the officials. One exception to this general rule may be cited, however. Edmund Grey, lord of Ruthin, created earl of Kent in 1465, seems to have taken a vigorous part and shown keen interest in all aspects of the running of his estates, at the cost of a more distinguished career at Court.¹ Most lords were not prepared to pay this price.

The chief manorial official was, by tradition, the reeve, who was a villein of the manor, or the bailiff, who was always a freeman and not necessarily from the manor or neighbourhood in which he served. These are the two officials who are most commonly found accounting on Stafford's manors and for his boroughs, although a variety of other accountants are also found — beadles, tithingmen, rent-collectors, farmers. On some manors a beadle, as well as the reeve or bailiff, presents an account, but reeve and bailiff never account, either separately or together, for the same manor, nor does it appear that they are ever found together on one manor, for the nature of the office made any duplication of these officials superfluous. There is no apparent rule guiding the occurrence in office of a reeve rather than a bailiff on a manor, or vice versa. The size and importance of the manor was

1. R.I. Jack, The Lords Grey of Ruthin 1325-1490: a study in the lesser baronage, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of London, 1961). pp. 319-20.

obviously not a determining factor. Reeves are found on some of the largest and wealthiest manors, such as Thornbury in Gloucestershire, Oakham in Rutland or Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire, as well as on the smaller manors like Hadlow and Brasted in Kent, and Petersfield hamlet in Hampshire. It may be that the manors on which reeves are found as accounting officers are those where traces of demesne farming survived longest, where the largest numbers of customary or unfree tenants are to be found, and where the greatest proportion of feudal conditions still prevailed, for it must be remembered that service as reeve was originally a mark of servile status. It is usually on the accounts of reeves that the largest numbers of payments associated with villein tenure appear. These were payments of tallage, customary payments in kind, now commuted to money payments, labour services, likewise commuted to money payments, and fines of advowry and chevage. These two last payments were, respectively, a payment made by a villein from another manor to live within the lord's boundaries, and a payment made by a villein of the manor for permission to reside outside the manor boundaries. Both payments had ceased to be of financial importance, as had the various local customary servile dues, most of which appear in respite on the accounts as unfree tenants sought freedom from payment. Labour services were commuted almost everywhere, but on many manorial accounts, notably those of Thornbury manor,¹ these services are still specified in full detail, indicating that they are still known of and recognized as available in the future if ever need arose to demand their performance. On other accounts, where the bailiff accounted for the

1. In effect, it is on the beadle's account that these payments appear, the beadle also being of unfree status, like the reeve. At Thornbury they shared the duties. See the accounts for Thornbury manor, 1433-61 (SRO D641/1/2/162-181).

manor, such entries are either stated simply in a lump sum for all services, with no definition of individual services, or else all signs of such payments had disappeared finally and completely, an indication that commutation was of ancient date. A characteristic feature of medieval accounts is the fossilization of entries: items would be listed year after year, long after they had ceased to be of any significance, before finally disappearing for good or being absorbed in with other payments.

It is impossible to distinguish between the functions of a reeve and those of a bailiff from fifteenth-century accounts. It would appear that in terms of function the two offices were interchangeable, and thus to have had both officials on one manor would have been unnecessary duplication. The name "bailiff" is a generic title, originally meaning simply a man holding office, and could be taken to cover the office of reeve, beadle or any other official holding office. There do appear to have been some distinctions between a bailiff and a reeve, that of personal status being the most obvious; but distinction in function is less clear and would appear to have been minimal, for in the fifteenth century there seems to have been some confusion of title and official status. At Haresfield in Gloucestershire, the bailiff was paid 20s. per annum "on account of his office, both for the office of reeve and for the office of beadle";¹ that is, he called himself a bailiff but was paid as reeve and beadle. At Tyso, in Warwickshire, there was a reeve of the manor, receiving an allowance of rents of 12s. per annum. There was also a warrener, paid at the rate of 40s. per annum. In July 1453, obviously in the interests of economy and efficiency, these two officials were replaced by one man, John Dodd,

1. SRO D641/1/2/168m5.

appointed by Stafford to be bailiff and warrener of the manor at 40s. per annum. Dodd accounts as bailiff, but refers to himself on his account also as "bailiff and reeve".¹ There is no outward change in the form of the account nor, it would appear, on the manor itself after Dodd's arrival. The functions of manorial officials of whatever title were, apparently, the same, hence complications in official title.

It can no longer be assumed by the mid-fifteenth century that a reeve would be a villein and thus unfree. Since the thirteenth century, however, a man entitled "bailiff" was always a free man.² This fact of course contributes towards the vagueness of official title and status. It also cannot be assumed that, whereas the reeve would be a tenant on the manor, the bailiff would be more likely to be an outsider introduced by the lord. A bailiff still owed his appointment to the lord, or to his lord's receiver or steward, but was likely to be both local and resident, often himself holding or farming lands on the manor. The main difference between the two officials appears, however, to be one of personal status, shown mainly in the methods of appointment, length of tenure of office, and method and rates of pay; but the line between free and unfree status was now very indistinct. The reeve had a duty to serve in office, but this service no longer automatically implied villein status. Service in this office seems rather to have been bound up with tenure of unfree land. A free man could easily acquire lands held by unfree tenure, and although his personal status remained unchanged he could be called upon to assume the burdens of his tenure. "If manorial obligations were distributed with regard for tenure rather than for birth, a man holding both types of land might be called upon to

1. SRO D641/1/2/273m5d; PRO SC6 1040/15m5, "account of John Dodde, bailiff and reeve".

2. Denholm-Young, Seigniorial Administration, p. 32 n. 1.

shoulder the responsibilities of free and villein status."¹ On Machan manor, the reeve for 1451-52 was Howell Kemeys,² who was obviously connected in some way with the Kemeys family of Began in Wentloog, at a time when this family was powerful in the lordship, for William Kemeys was receiver, approver and constable of Newport Castle from 1446-56. This may in fact have been the same Howell Kemeys who was himself receiver of the lordship for a few weeks in 1446, and deputy-sheriff of the lordship from 1444 until 1448. Unfortunately, the rents of tenants on the manor are not specified in detail on the account, so it is impossible to tell what lands Kemeys held in Machan, but it is very probable that he had acquired unfree lands on this manor and held office as reeve in respect of his tenure of these. The same situation occurs in Hampshire regarding a man named Thomas at Rithe. This man was bailiff of Mapledurham manor from 1438 until 1443, and yet in 1448-49 served as reeve of Petersfield hamlet.³ It would appear that a reeve, despite unfree status if he was a villein holding in villeinage, could be a man of some substance. At Dowlais manor in Newport lordship, the reeve in 1447-48 accounted by a deputy, David ap Guillim Self, "a native tenant of the lord". This same man was holding the mills of the manor by lease for a term of forty years, from Michaelmas 1439, at a farm of 33s.4d. per annum.⁴

It was usually a manorial duty of the customary tenants at the Michaelmas court to elect a reeve from the men of the manor holding land by unfree tenure. At Rumney in Newport lordship, three men were

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1. F.M. Page, The Estates of Crowland Abbey: a study of manorial organization (Cambridge 1934), p. 71.
 2. PRO SC6 924/24m6.
 3. SRO D641/1/2/167m8; /170m10; /174m7d.
 4. PRO SC6 924/23mm3, 3d: account of John Roger, reeve of Dowlars manor, "per Davidum ap Guillim Self attornatum suum".

elected, the final choice of one to be reeve going to the sheriff of Wentloog.¹ At Oakham in Rutland in 1459-60, there was a divergence from the custom for some reason, and the reeve was appointed by the Receiver-General instead of by election of the tenants. He received a bonus of 10s. per annum for his hard work,² an inducement which might suggest that there was unwillingness to serve among the other tenants, or perhaps merely a desire for greater efficiency and effort in the performance of the duties of the office on the part of the Receiver-General. That certain villein tenements carried a special obligation of service as reeve by the tenant is obvious from the account of Brastead in Kent where, in return for his services, the reeve was allowed to hold the tenement "for which he was elected to office by the customary tenants this year", quit of the annual rent of 19s.2½d.³ In the Welshry of Hay, however, it would appear that the office of reeve was farmed for 6s.8d. per annum, and the reeve had to find sureties for his term of office. Respite for a fine of £4 to be paid by various tenants for non-payment of part of the arrears of Howell ap John Benlloid, reeve there in 1447-48, was being sought on the reeve's account for 1453-54.⁴ The reeve of the Welshry must obviously have had some means of recovering his initial outlay for the office, or of making a profit on it, from the other tenants of the manor.

Only on the accounts for two manors in Gloucestershire are tenants found paying fines for permission to decline the responsibilities of

1. Pugh, Marcher Lordships of South Wales, p. 184, n. 1.

2. SRO D641/1/2/266m2d. "In quodam riguardo facto Johanni Surflete prepositi ibidem pro deligencie labore suo ... eo quod dictus prepositus fecit officium illud hoc anno per convencionem secum factam per Receptorem Generalem et non per electionem tenencium — 10s."

3. SRO D641/1/2/233m7d. (4d).

4. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m4d.

office as reeve, and such entries are very few. The case of Mare manor in 1459-60 would seem to be an isolated instance on this manor, though the man had paid for exoneration since at least 1428-29.¹ At Thornbury manor, a small number of tenants paid their fines regularly over a number of years. On the 1459-60 account for Thornbury, there are ten entries for such fines for exoneration from service charged against the accountant, and later on the same account he is discharged for payment of four of these fines because the men in these instances have died within the past years. These fines were included in the entries for new and increased rents, and the drawing up of a new rental was long overdue at Thornbury, hence the clumsiness of accounting in the charge on this account. The rental used here in 1459-60 was apparently based on a rental drawn up in 1380/1.² The size of the fine levied varied for no apparent reason, but may have been based on the value of the tenement in respect of which exoneration was sought. Thomas Bray paid 3s. so that he and Cecily, his wife, might be exonerated from serving as reeve and from future tenure "of all lands of election called Chooseland". It is difficult to see why he should include his wife in his exoneration, for there is no instance of a woman ever serving in office, but it is possible that tenure of such land carried other, joint, obligations. Thomas Isaak paid only 1d. on the same account for exoneration from the tenure of such lands, while from 1444 John French, fisher, had been paying 4d. per annum to be exonerated not only from service as reeve, but also as beadle and tithingman on the manor. His fine, however, did not cover service as reeve of Thornbury borough, an office which he held in 1451-52.³ On no other of the reeves' accounts

1. PRO SC6 1117/10m5d.

2. PRO SC6 1117/10m1.

3. SRO D641/1/2/175m4. Thornbury borough—"account of John Frenssh, fisher, reeve of the borough there."

which survive for any manors do we find any trace of a like practice of exoneration from service. It may be that exemption from service was not allowed elsewhere, or else that the perquisites of office and the accompanying importance and prestige compensated for the burdens of office which, at a large and valuable manor like Thornbury, must have been heavy.

The bailiff escaped any taint of servile status which might still cling to the office of reeve. He might be appointed by Stafford or the local receiver or steward, subject to confirmation by Stafford, and it would appear that he was usually resident on the manor. This was a position of some local importance, and it was generally advisable to have a man in office who had some local knowledge and contacts. Stafford appointed several officials of his Household to positions as bailiffs on his larger manors. Such appointments were probably designed as rewards for services rendered, but it would seem possible that such men were returning to their neighbourhood of origin. Richard Butler, who seems to have come from Solihull, is mentioned on the Receiver-General's accounts for 1444-45 and 1450-51 as a clerk on his staff.¹ He was appointed bailiff of the manors of Wootton Wawen and Sheldon in Warwickshire by Stafford, his warrant being dated 11 November 1451. He was to be paid 30s.4d. per annum from each manor, "for his office and for corporal services rendered".² He held lands from Stafford in Warwickshire and north Oxfordshire, two parts of a knight's fee in Whitley, Oxfordshire and pastureland in Offord, near Wootton Wawen. Another example of a former Household servant being transferred to the estate staff is the case of Richard Lolle, one of the

1. PRO SC6 1305/4m5. He is seen riding on various errands for the Receiver-General from Solihull, which would indicate that this was where he lived.

2. SRO D641/1/2/273mm.3d, 6d.

Receiver-General's clerks in 1449-50, who by 1456 was bailiff and farmer of the fees of the Honour of Gloucester in Northamptonshire.¹ These two men, trained in administration on the Receiver-General's staff and with knowledge of the estates, were obviously an asset in local administration, whether strangers to the locality or not, but it is difficult to see the advantage of appointing men like William Crowhurst, "alias Cok de Botery", as bailiff and collector of Desenyng manor in Suffolk,² or of William Litley, "a valet", as beadle of Southam manor in Kent,³ unless they were being returned to a neighbourhood which they already knew and where they were known. Details of the origins and careers of officials at this level are lacking, and they mostly remain as merely the names of men in Stafford's service, but it is likely that the majority of bailiffs appointed were tenants or farmers of lands on the manors on which they served.

The length of tenure of office for a reeve and a bailiff differed. The bailiff was usually appointed to office during the pleasure of the lord, and, provided that he performed his duties satisfactorily, could remain in office for very long periods. Thomas Whatton, bailiff of Maxstoke manor in Warwickshire, was appointed to office in 1437 when Stafford acquired the manor, and was still there in 1457.⁴ Richard Butler, at Sheldon and Wootton Wawen, was in office from 1451 until at least 1473.⁵ A reeve, on the other hand, was appointed for a year, and it is rare to find a man in office for longer, although such a situation was not completely unknown. John Dogood, reeve of Kneesall

1. SRO D641/1/2/21mm6d, 7; /23m2.

2. SRO D641/1/2/18m4; NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 39.

3. PRO SC6 1305/4m4; NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 112; SRO D641/1/2/234ml.

4. SRO D641/1/2/269ml; /23ml.

5. SRO D641/1/2/273mm3d, 6d; BM Add. MS 29608.

manor in Nottinghamshire, served as reeve for the two years 1449-51,¹ and on each of the Receiver-General's accounts for the years 1449-50, 1450-51 and 1456-57, the reeve of Langham in Rutland appears as Thomas Sims,² which strongly suggests that he was in office continuously during these years covered by the accounts. The same situation occurs at Whatcote in Warwickshire, where John Ward appears as reeve on each of these same three Receiver-General's accounts.

It is rare on the Stafford estates to find two men accounting together for the same manor, apart from Stretton Audley manor in Oxfordshire, where two rent-collectors apparently account together, and at West Bedwind in Wiltshire, where the reeve and the collector of the perquisites of court account together. From the Receiver-General's accounts it would seem that both the reeve and the beadle accounted at Kymbolton manor, but it may be that here, as at Thornbury, they in fact presented separate accounts for different items of manorial revenue. Occasionally, as at Dowlars manor in 1447-48, the deputy reeve presented the account. In such cases, the deputy's name appears on the account together with the reeve's name. John Andreux, bailiff of the Honours of Hereford and Gloucester in Gloucestershire, always accounted by deputies who are specified on each account. If a man died in office, or left office during the year, his name and that of his successor were both on the account, each responsible for a certain proportion of the charge, expenses and arrears for their period in office. The account for Darlaston in Staffordshire for 1454-55 is headed thus:-

Compotus Johannis Wood et Willelmi Gibson separatim Ballivorum
ibidem per tempus predictum videlicet Johannis a festo Sancti
Michaelis anno 33 usque festum Annunciacionis beate Marie usque

1. SRO D641/1/2/21m1; PRO SC6 1305/4m1.

2. SRO D641/1/2/21m2; PRO SC6 1305/4m1; SRO D641/1/2/23m2.

festum Sancti Michaelis extunc proximum sequentem, per unum annum integrum.¹

As each man served for six months, the rents which were collected twice a year were assigned equally, but all courts were held in the first half of the year, so this charge rested entirely upon John Wood. At Petersfield in Hampshire in this same year, 1454-55, Edith Stockman presented the account as executrice of her husband William, who had been elected reeve for that year.² In this case, it is probable that William had died either very shortly before the end of that financial year, which here fell on January 13, the feast of St. Hilary, or between then and the time of the audit, for otherwise a successor would have been appointed and both names would have appeared on the account. It was unknown on the Stafford estates for a woman to hold office, and Edith Stockman here is not accounting as a substitute for her husband, but as executrice for his debts.

A bailiff of a manor was sometimes referred to as bailiff and collector of rents. On most of the earlier accounts, for example for Rothwell, Navesby, Desenyng and Darlaston manors, he is called bailiff and collector, but on later accounts for the same manors the title of collector of rents is dropped and he retains the title only of bailiff. In effect, there was probably little practical distinction between the work of a collector and a bailiff, which was always an indefinite and widely applicable term. The collector seems to perform the same duties as a bailiff, but where an official on a manor is entitled simply a collector of rents, there are indications that the collector was a non-resident, whereas a bailiff normally lived on his manor. A bailiff on one manor, for example, could act as collector on another, as is the

1. SRO D641/1/2/59m7.

2. SRO D641/1/2/216m1.

case on Rothwell and Glapthorn manors in Northamptonshire, or Darlaston in Staffordshire and Bridgnorth in Cheshire. In Wiltshire, the collectors of Cornhampton and Udatford manors were, first, John Woodford and then Thomas Berkeley, both performing the duties of these offices while acting as deputy-receiver in the Gloucester receiver's area.¹

Most evidence for this theory comes from the Stafford receivership which was unique in that the receiver himself acted as collector of rents at a large number of manors within his area. He was collector at Stafford manor, Madeley, Doddington and Tillington manors,² at Hugh Stafford's manors of Barlaston, Hartwell and Tittensor which were administered as one unit, and for lands in Dunston and Bradley. He was also collector of Stafford rents. These were the rents of the vill of the Castle, the Green in Forebridge, Rowley, the Lees, Burton, Bradley, Apeton, Billington, Littywood, Longnor and the Rule, all in Bradley, for Coppenhall, Dunston, Stretton and Levedale, all in Penkridge, tenements in Stafford borough formerly held by Roger Bradshawe and lands inherited from Ralph Basset. There were also customary rents from the vill of Bradley, Longnor, Apeton, Woolaston, Alstone, Brough and Rule, Barton, Shradicote, Billington, Mitton, Burton, Rickerscote, Stafford Castle and Rowley. Collection of all these various rents must have involved a considerable amount of work and time, and the receiver probably had deputies nominated on the manors to see to routine management, but he presented his own accounts and since as receiver his official headquarters were at Stafford Castle, this system certainly meant that he was non-resident on any of the manors for which he acted

1. SRO D641/1/2/168mm7, 8; /172mm.6d, 7.

2. Until 1451, when Tillington was farmed out (SRO D641/1/2/58m4).

as collector. There is no indication that the system was inefficient and, in fact, these Stafford manors were usually able to balance their accounts at the audit, and there were no great problems of outstanding arrears or claims for respited items. This was perhaps because where on other accounts the arrears were often carried forward, representing money remaining in the hands of the accountant, here it was an unnecessary complication to keep money on the manors when the receiver, as collector, could keep all surplus cash in his own hands. On the accounts, no liberaciones denariorum, representing cash delivered to the receiver, were calculated until after the account had been balanced, when all surplus cash was transferred to the receiver's account. The receiver initialled his own accounts as collector.

Another official on the manor who sometimes presented an account was the beadle. His main duties were those of policeman of the manor, taking pledges, levying distresses and generally acting as a messenger of the manorial courts. He also seems to have acted as an under-bailiff, performing the same duties of collecting rents and farms. The beadle is found on many manors, although he does not always present his own account. At Thornbury, Machan, and Yalding manors both reeve and beadle present separate accounts and at Blechingley in Surrey the beadle of the manor and the bailiff of the borough both account separately, though here again we find the distinction between official titles very confused. On his own account for 1445-46, the beadle calls himself beadle of the borough but on the receiver's account he is called bailiff of the borough. On the 1453-54 account, he is called the reeve of the borough.¹ At Rumney in Newport, as on various other manors, there were two beadles, each receiving 2s.8d. per annum, but only the

1. SRO D641/1/2/233mm.1d, 9(3); /234ml.

reeve of the manor presented an account. At Southam and at Hildenborough in Kent, the beadle is the only manorial official to account to the receiver. From the accounts, it would appear that there was little distinction between reeve, bailiff and beadle, all either doing the same work or, where two officials accounted, sharing the work. At Machan manor the reeve accounted for the farm of the mills and demesne lands and the collection of the toll-pixy, and the beadle for the rents of assize and rents of the tenants at will, for the new rents, for the collection of the commorth and for the perquisites of court.¹ At Thornbury manor, the reeve collected the rents and farms, court perquisites and income from the sale of produce, while the beadle collected the payment of Peterspence and the payment for sale of works. He also collected the major part of the perquisites of court, the reeve's responsibility only extending to the collection of heriots.²

At Littleton Drewe, Stanton St. Quintin and Smallbrook in Wiltshire, where Stafford had the profits of courts only, the accounts were presented by the tithingman. The offices of reeve, beadle and tithingman were of similar status, all carrying overtones of a servile nature, with the obligation to serve based on the tenure of unfree lands. The same man could and did fill more than one of these offices during his life. Walter Fowler, beadle of Thornbury in 1442-43, served as reeve of the manor in 1452-53.³ On the same manor, the men paying fines to be exonerated from holding lands carrying the obligation to serve as reeve often paid to be exempted from the other two offices also.

At Stowe manor in Newport, there was yet another accountant, the

1. PRO SC6 924/23mm.7, 8.

2. SRO D641/1/2/167mm.1, 3, and all Gloucester receiver's accounts until 1460.

3. SRO D641/1/2/170m3; /176m1.

approver of the manor, first appointed by Stafford in c.1436 to augment the revenues of the manor.¹ This was necessary at Stowe, a manor which had had its economy badly disrupted by the Welsh rebellions at the beginning of the century. It was said that all the native tenants had abandoned their holdings, although as a reeve continued to be elected into the 1430s this is perhaps a slight exaggeration. The disappearance of these unfree tenants was profitable in some respects as their lands could be leased out at increased rents to free tenants, of whom the approver himself was the most important. The approver of Stowe was, in fact, the receiver of the lordship and so a rent-collector was appointed at Stowe and received 20s. per annum, "having consideration of the fact that by the hard work and diligence of the accountant, the issues and profits of the manor have been raised to a higher level than previously". Payment was authorized in 1440/1 on the advice of Thomas Arblaster, sheriff of Newport, Henry Drury and others of the lord's council.²

On the Stafford estates, the manorial officials of a purely agricultural origin — haywards, reapers, millers, parkers, dairymaids — did not present their own accounts but accounted through the reeve or bailiff for any profits of their office which, since demesne farming was no longer practised on most manors, were likely to be small on most manors. An isolated exception to the statement is the account, both of money and of stock, for the "avenator and provisor" of Stafford manor in 1438-39.³ The Forester of Machan did present an annual account for rents of assize of the native tenants of Rumney and Dowlais manors,

1. PRO SC6 924/23m4. There was still a reeve there in 1434-35 (Glam. RO D/DCM/45m4).

2. PRO SC6 924/23m4d.

3. PRO SC6 988/12m2.

pannage of pigs in the forest, and the sale of produce of the forest, wood and brushwood.¹ There were also at least two foresters in Stafford's lordship of Cause, but no ministers' accounts survive for this receivership, and it is not known whether they presented an account.

Allowances and wages of manorial officials for their term of office were met at the source, from the issues of the manor, and were entered on the official's own account. On the question of wages, there was again a distinction between reeve and bailiff, despite the fact that they did the same work. Bailiffs were paid at a higher rate than reeves generally were, and payment to reeves, beadles and other officials, like reapers, was often in the form of allowances of rents rather than a direct money payment, a recognition of the fact that because of the duties of office these men would be unable to concentrate so much on cultivation of their holdings. Thus the reeve at Brastead received an allowance of 19s.2½d. of the rent of his tenement, and the reaper of the same manor received a similar allowance of 5s. per annum.² At Westcombe in Wiltshire the reeve was allowed 2s.6d. for his semi-virgate of land.³ At Rumney in Newport, the reeve was allowed 8s. in rents and works and the two beadles 2s.8d. each.⁴ Other allowances than rents were also made to reeves and beadles, like the works due from the Newport reeve, mentioned above. The reeve at Thornbury was granted a 7s. refreshment allowance though this, like similar allowances, was by now a straightforward cash payment. The reaper here was obviously a more important figure even than the reeve, for he received a cash

1. PRO SC6 924/23m7d.

2. SRO D641/1/2/233m.7 (4).

3. PRO SC6 1117/8m3.

4. PRO SC6 924/23mld.

payment of 13s.4d.¹ The reeve of Huntingdon prepositus was granted the very generous allowance of 34s.4d., the price of six quarters and 4 bushels of corn which had once been given him in respect of his office.² The parker here and the constable and janitor of the Castle at Hay were each given allowances of 26s., the price of four cartloads of corn once granted them as their annual fee.³ The beadle at Machan was allowed 6s. for his robe at Christmas, and also granted 3d. as his bonus at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost.⁴ The beadle at Blechingley received not only a fee of 26s.8d. per annum but also a further allowance of 6s.8d. "for his livery".⁵

Many reeves and all bailiffs did receive a direct cash payment for their services. Fees varied from manor to manor for no apparent reason, as has already been seen above, and the reeve of one manor could in effect receive more than the bailiff of another. At Colston Bassett manor in Nottinghamshire, the reeve was paid 60s.8d. per annum, though why the rate should be so high on this particular manor is unclear.⁶ In general, a bailiff's fee could range from 60s.8d. to 20s. per annum, while that of a reeve could be anywhere in the range of 20s. to 3s.4d. per annum. Fees were higher in certain cases where a bailiff combined the duties of two offices. The bailiff of Maxstoke was also parker there, and received £4.11s. per annum.⁷ Bonuses were often paid to officials whose work-load was heavy or difficult, or to those who worked

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1. SRO D641/1/2/167mm.1d, 2.
 2. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4,m5d.
 3. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4,mm5d,3.
 4. PRO SC6 924/23m8.
 5. SRO D641/1/2/233m10 (5).
 6. PRO SC6 954/11m4.
 7. SRO D641/1/2/270m1d.

particularly well. Sometimes these would be granted at the discretion of the receiver or steward and, although the bonus would be paid, official recognition of it from Stafford or his council had to be obtained as well, as this sometimes took time. The bonus of 6s.8d. per annum to the bailiff of Norton-in-the-Moors manor in Staffordshire appeared as an item in respite on his account from the time it was granted until at least 1461. It had been agreed by William Munden and Humfrey Coles, respectively steward of the Household and receiver of the area, to pay this sum to Richard Alcock, bailiff and collector since at least 1433-34, so the bonus payments were in the respite on the accounts for more than twenty-five years.¹ A 20s. bonus was granted to the accountant of Eastington and Alkerton manors in Gloucestershire on the advice of the receiver, steward and auditor in 1440-41, and this was finally allowed on the 1445-46 account.² Where any such special bonus or allowance was granted, a clause was added on the account in most cases, specifying that the payment was not to be taken as a precedent for such wages on that particular manor for future officials. On most manors, officials were allowed to claim for their expenses if they had to travel on the lord's business, or for attending the audit, and these were allowed without any trouble or delay.

On many of Stafford's manors, the official who accounted to the receiver was not necessarily part of the estate administrative system as such. These were the manors which were farmed out in toto to a tenant, and Stafford, while reserving his feudal rights over reliefs, wardships, marriages, escheats, waifs and strays, relinquished all other interests

1. SRO D641/1/2/63m6. By 1438, it had already been in respite for five years (PRO SC6 988/12m8).

2. SRO D641/1/2/168m6; /172m5.

in return for the payment of the annual farm, usually a round sum in pounds or marks.¹ After payment of this sum to the receiver, the farmer's responsibility to the administration as such ceased, subject of course to due observance of the terms of his lease. His account was usually a very brief statement of payment, although it sometimes took the form of an ordinary, detailed reeve's or bailiff's account, with a "nil" entry for all items except that of Farm of the manor, which included all other payments. Most of the manors in Kent, Surrey, Essex and Buckinghamshire were farmed out in toto, but this arrangement was less common elsewhere.

A more frequent arrangement was that the site of the manor was leased out to one man, and the other appurtenances — pasture, meadows, gardens, mills — were farmed out to a number of other tenants, free and unfree. In many cases, the accountant on such a manor was a bailiff appointed by Stafford, but on some such manors the accountant was the farmer, the man who was the largest single holder of lands on the manor, and responsible also for the collection of all receipts from other parts of the manor let out to farm. On some manors of course a bailiff appointed by Stafford might be the largest share-holder in the farm of demesne lands and appurtenances anyway, and received his annual fee as bailiff, but where the farmer simply acted as bailiff he was sometimes allowed a small annual payment and sometimes not. At Radcliffe in Nottinghamshire, the accountant farmed the demesne lands and is styled "bailiff and collector", and received a payment for his work of 13s.4d. per annum on his account.² At Rugby in Warwickshire, however, the bailiff and farmer received no such allowance or payment on his account

1. Below, pp. 122-23.

2. PRO SC6 954/11 mld.

and at Wootton Wawen, also in Warwickshire, a condition of the lease of the manor and demesne lands was that the farmer was to hold not only the offices of bailiff and collector of rents, but also those of woodward and warrener, receiving a fee of 20s. per annum. He was also to wear the livery of the lord accorded to the rank of a valet.¹

Some manorial offices were purely honorary, like that of parker of a manor, who often had little real connection with the manor. This position, once relatively lowly, was now occupied by men of rank and distinction in Stafford's retinue. The office was a sinecure, as seen by the fact that the parker was appointed by Stafford for life, in contrast to other offices which carried real responsibility and where the official was appointed during pleasure only. Stafford himself held such an office in the Duchy of Lancaster on the King's service, for in August 1437 he had been appointed, for life, Master Forester of Duffield Frith.² Similarly, on his own estates, his parkers were usually old and trusted retainers in his service, for such an office afforded a means of rewarding such men and strengthening mutual ties of trust and obligation. The connection of many parkers with Stafford was political rather than manorial; little local knowledge need be possessed by the holder, for the office could easily be filled by a deputy who did possess the necessary local knowledge for carrying out the duties required. In Gloucestershire in 1456-57, the receiver's account refers to the deputy for Nicholas Poyntz, parker of Eastwood Park.³ A parker's salary was a form of annuity, and the relative certainty of payment simplified accountancy. There seems to have been a more or less standard

1. SRO D641/1/2/270m5d.

2. Somerville, The Duchy of Lancaster, p. 556.

3. PRO SC6 1117/9m9.

fee for a parker, of 2d. per day or 60s.8d. per annum, although, as always, there were some local variations. Arrangements for paying the fee were made according to the convenience of the parker himself, and in most cases he went to the receiver for payment rather than to the reeve or bailiff of the manor on which he held office. On some manors, however, like Stafford and Madeley manors, the parker's fee was charged on the manorial account.

Men who became parkers were often highly esteemed retainers like Henry Drury, a copy of whose letters patent of appointment survives among the Stafford records:-

Humfrey, Comte de Stafford etc. Sachiez nous avoir ordeine et constituit nostre treschier et bien ame Henry Drury esquier maistre de nostre dedins de nos parc et warrenne de nostre seigneurie de Desenyng dans le countie de Suffolk a avoir et tenir lycell office oue une annuelle fee de dys marcs pour terme de sa vie apprendres des issues et profitz de Desenyng. Donez 11 Januer anno 18.¹

Robert Whitgreve, another loyal retainer, was appointed parker of Stafford manor in April 1433, and reversion of his office was granted to his son Humfrey, who succeeded him as parker in August 1453.² The office of parker could often be held in conjunction with another office. Drury was steward of Desenyng and the Suffolk manors, Nicholas Poyntz was receiver of the Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Hampshire receivership from 1439 until 1454, as well as parker of Eastwood from 1439 until 1460. A few weeks after Poyntz' death in September 1460, Stafford's widow appointed his son, John Poyntz, parker of Eastwood, and at Easter 1461 he also became receiver in the Gloucester receivership.³ The steward of the Gloucestershire manors, Thomas Mille, was parker of Haresfield in

1. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 23.

2. PRO SC6 988/12ml0d; SRO D641/1/2/59ml.

3. SRO D641/1/2/181m8d.

Gloucestershire from 1439, the office being conferred jointly upon him and his son William for term of their lives in 1453/4.¹ William Mille did not hold the office on his own account, however, for Thomas died in 1460/1 and William was attainted for his support of the Lancastrian cause, and probably died at Towton in March 1461.²

There was yet another class of officials within the receivership who presented accounts to the receiver, and these men were the bailiffs or keepers of fee, usually called feodaries, and the bailiffs of an Honour or liberty. Like the beadle, these officials were sometimes charged with the collection of rents, but they had little to do with the direct administration of the manor, being concerned mainly with the fees within a county, group of counties or a lordship. They collected aids and reliefs, took escheated lands into Stafford's hands pending arrangements for a minority or for the widow, and they distrained for homage and fealty on Stafford's behalf. They also distrained for suit of court and collected the goods and chattels of convicted felons and fugitives. This revenue from purely feudal sources was never very important, at most a few shillings each year, but Stafford maintained his rights as feudal lord over his tenants, even on manors which were leased out in toto, by reserving his feudal incidents and the right of his officials to enter the manor in order to collect them. In the 1440s, his feodaries were collecting an aid for the marriage of his eldest daughter, Anne, to Aubrey de Vere, heir of the Earl of Oxford, which took place in January 1441.³ The Redd Book of Caus contains several injunctions to his feodary to take homage for lands from his

1. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 113.

2. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 595.

3. SRO D641/1/2/270m7d — account for Warwickshire and Oxfordshire 1443-44; /233m5d — account for Kent and Surrey 1444-45.

tenants,¹ and this seems to have been an important part of his work. In 1444-45, the Warwickshire accounts contain details of the expenses of a law-suit brought against his feodary, Richard Dalby, for unlawful distraint for homage and an aid at Duns Tew manor, near Banbury in Oxfordshire.² Most of the expenses were for the searching of records for evidence in the Tower of London, in the Exchequer, in the abbeys of Marston, Osney and Bruerne, and travelling expenses and expenses during the trial in London.

Before Stafford inherited his mother's estates, it would appear that he had feodaries in his receiverships in Kent and Surrey and in Staffordshire, and one whose area of reference covered most of the rest of his estates in England within the Receiver-General's area, that is, the counties of Warwickshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Gloucestershire, Leicestershire, Oxfordshire and Berkshire. The holder of this office was Richard Dalby, whose letters patent of appointment ran as follows:-

Humfrey, Counte de Stafforde et de Perche etc. A toutz ceaux etc. salutz. Sachiez nous en la bien foi et loiate et discrecion de nostre bien ame seigneur Richard Dalby luy avons ordeignes et constitueit et assignez destre nostre feoddarie en la countee de Warr', Leic' Oxon' Berk' Gloucestrie Bukingham Bedford et Northampton pur coiller et leverre tout ceo et regardantz et appurtenauntz aus dites offices en les dites countes a avoir et occupier les dites offices oveque les lees au dit offices regardantz appurtenauntz et accoustumes apprendre un robe de suyte de nos esquieres annuellement des issues et profitz provenauntez del dit office. Donantz a luy playn pouiar etc. enselees ove nostre graunte seelle etc. Donez a Londres le vynt et quartre iour Octobre anno 13.³

In November of the same year, 1434, another feodary was appointed for Essex, Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, Suffolk and Norfolk.⁴

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1. NLW Peniarth MS, p. 1, nos. 1, 3, 5; p. 2, no. 6, fos. 38, 55.
 2. SRO D641/1/2/27lm7.
 3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, p. 1, no. 2.
 4. NLW Peniarth MS 280, p. 1, no. 4. He was Robert Shameale, of whom nothing else is known.

After 1438, these areas were redefined in the general reorganization following Anne Stafford's death and Stafford's inheritance of her estates. Dalby's large area was gradually broken down until he remained in charge only of Warwickshire, Leicestershire and Oxfordshire. In February 1439, Gloucestershire and Berkshire were included in a new receivership with Wiltshire and Hampshire. From 1450, the feodary here was a man named Walter Chaughton, a squire.¹ Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire formed one feodaryship until 1444 when they were separated, Buckinghamshire's feodary being Robert Power and Bedfordshire's one John Smith.² Northamptonshire also formed a separate area. Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire perhaps formed another large area but no feodaries' accounts for any of these counties are mentioned on any Receiver-General's accounts. In 1440, Richard Greenway was appointed feodary for Brecon, Hay, Huntingdon and Herefordshire in the Welsh March,³ but there never appears to have been a feodary for Newport lordship and it may be that the feodary's duties were performed by some other official such as the coroner of Wentloog. Records providing information for the arrangements for Holderness and Cause do not survive, but it is likely that Holderness had its own feodary, while Cause was perhaps included in the area covered by the Staffordshire feodary.

Bailiffs of liberties existed for the lordships of Stafford and Tonbridge. Richard Stiche, bailiff of the Green of Stafford and the liberty of Forebridge from 30 September 1439,⁴ was also presenting an account as feodary from c.1453. The dates of both appointments seem to

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1. SRO D641/1/2/216m6d.
 2. SRO D641/1/2/15m3; /254.
 3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 34.
 4. SRO D641/1/2/54m5d.

have been the same but there is no separate account as feodary by name before this date. The feodary's account deals only with the collection of reliefs, the bailiff of the liberty's account with court perquisites and fines of suitors.¹ From 1444, John Judde, formerly in charge of the livery at Tonbridge, was feodary in Kent and Surrey,² and there was a separate bailiff of the liberty of Tonbridge, Richard Salter.³ None of his accounts survives.

In Gloucestershire, there were two bailiffs of the Honours of Gloucester, and from 1439 until 1450 both offices were held by

John Andreux ... quem Humfridus comes Herefordie Buk Staffordie North' et Perche dominus de Brencoc per litteras suas patentes datas 17 die Februar' anno 17 (1439) Regis Henrici sexti ordinavit constituit et assignavit feodarium et ballivum feodorum libertatis honorum Gloucestrie et Herefordie in comitatu Gloucestrie habendum et occupandum officia predicta per se ipsum aut deputatos suos cum feodis et vadiis eisdem officiis pertinentibus et accustomatibus de exitus et proficuis provenientibus de officiis predictis prout in eisdem litteris plenius continetur.⁴

Andreux, in fact, regularly performed his duties and presented his accounts through deputies. By 1451, John Arthur had been appointed bailiff of the Honour of Hereford,⁵ while Andreux retained that of bailiff of Gloucester Honour until his death in 1450, although he continued to account by deputy. The Honour of Gloucester was also kept alive as a name in Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire, where there were also bailiffs of the Honour.

Like the parkers, the men holding these offices were often of some standing in the neighbourhood. Richard Dalby, of Brookhampton in Warwickshire, was member of Parliament for East Grinstead in 1442;⁶

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1. SRO D641/1/2/59mm4d, 5d.
 2. SRO D641/1/2/233m1d; NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 41.
 3. SRO D641/1/2/17m2d.
 4. SRO D641/1/2/169m1d.
 5. SRO D641/1/2/175m6d.
 6. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 250.

William Heaton, bailiff of the Honour of Gloucester in Northamptonshire from 1440, was escheator of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire for 1438, sheriff of Rutland in 1451 and member for Rutland in 1442, as well as holder of various other offices in Stafford's service.¹ John Andreux, as well as serving as member for Gloucester borough in four parliaments, was a successful lawyer who had been retained by Anne Stafford in the 1430s and by Stafford from 1439.² Some holders of these offices are, however, merely names, and their careers are obscure, but it would seem likely that in a number of cases these offices, of feodary and bailiff of a liberty, resembled that of parker in that they were used to bind retainers more closely to Stafford and to reward them for past services. The offices were also occasionally filled by men who had been members of the Household — John Judde in Kent and, in the Honour of Gloucester in Northamptonshire from 1456, Richard Lolle, member of the Receiver-General's staff in the 1440s.

There was no standard fee for these offices. John Judde, feodary in Kent and Surrey, received 40s. per annum,³ as did Robert Power, feodary in Buckinghamshire,⁴ while John Smith in Bedfordshire and Richard Greenway in Brecon received only 20s. each.⁵ Richard Stiche, bailiff of the liberty of Forebridge in Staffordshire, received 60s.8d. per annum,⁶ but Richard Salter, bailiff of the liberty of Tonbridge, only 20s. per annum.⁷ Apart from Greenway in Brecon, whose fee was

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1. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 441.
 2. Ibid., p. 11; SRO D641/1/2/167m9.
 3. SRO D641/1/2/233m54; /254m1.
 4. SRO D641/1/2/254m2.
 5. SRO D641/1/2/254m2.
 6. SRO D641/1/2/54m5d.
 7. SRO D641/1/2/17m2d.

paid by the receiver, these officials had their fees allowed on their own accounts but on some accounts, such as those of Dalby in Warwickshire and Chaughton in Wiltshire, no allowance is made for their fees, nor were they paid by their area receiver. It is difficult to see how or where they were paid, although probably these were offices of profit.

All accounting officials, reeves, bailiffs, beadles, feodaries performed much the same duties, the most important being the collection of revenues. It is obvious that there was no longer any very clear distinction between these officials. Distinctions in status might survive, but the work was the same and the offices virtually interchangeable. The feodary's office preserved much of its original nature, being feudal rather than manorial, but even so, feodaries and bailiffs of liberties are found collecting rents. Despite this apparent lack of any clear demarcation between the officials and their work, there is no indication from the accounts that there were any local jurisdictional disputes between officials such as reeve and beadle on the same manor, or between the offices of feodary in Staffordshire and bailiff of the liberty of Forebridge in Staffordshire.

In the main, Stafford appears to have been fortunate in his choice of manorial officials. There is no evidence from the accounts that any were dishonest. It is less easy to disprove that they were lazy in performing the duties of office, but although arrears did accumulate, it was not to any very marked degree. There appears to have been no great reluctance to serve, even among the reeves and beadles who were bound to serve, and Thornbury and Mare are the only manors for which evidence survives that they were prepared, or perhaps, were allowed, to pay fines for exoneration from service. Length of tenure of office among bailiffs also indicates that it was not a particularly despised office;

and probably the fees and wages and, more important, the prestige and standing in the neighbourhood acquired from being servant to a great magnate outweighed the burdens and responsibilities of office, a great magnate being able to provide good lordship and protection as well as the material rewards of office.

CHAPTER FIVE

MANORIAL ADMINISTRATION

The previous chapter dealt with the manor, the smallest unit in the estate administration in terms of the appointment and conditions of service of the officials who directed the administration there. In this chapter, the officials are set within the framework of the manor or borough as a working, financial unit as depicted in the accounts, the records produced by the officials themselves of their financial transactions. The accounts, used for this purpose, have strict limitations. They provide only a sketchy picture of the manor in terms of the status and numbers of the tenants, the land under cultivation, the exploitation of resources and potential profits. In the same way, it was no part of the purpose of the accounts to provide a picture of the routine day-to-day work of administration, to show the relationship between official and tenants, to show how much time the work demanded of the officials or how they combined it with their own interests and activities. This point applies equally to the receivers and their position regarding their work, which is dealt with in a later chapter.

The accounts do indicate that by the mid-fifteenth century, demesne farming was a thing of the past on the Stafford estates. The lord of the manor himself is mentioned very rarely in the manorial accounts. He was non-resident and a very infrequent visitor to the majority of his manors, and the officials there themselves would, as a rule, have little contact with him except through the receiver, the steward or the auditor. On a few manors, Stafford retained the use of part of the demesne lands

for his livery, as at Stafford and Madeley manors in Staffordshire, Tonbridge in Kent or Blechingley in Surrey, or for the growing of fodder crops or for pasturage for Household animals as at Maxstoke and other scattered manors. These lands showed either a nil return in terms of rents or were farmed out to the Treasurer of the Household. At Thornbury manor, pastureland worth 13s.4d. per annum was farmed out to a tenant but Stafford reserved the right to the use of the land for his livery if he were in residence there with his Household, agreeing to pay a fine of 26s.8d. for entry to his tenant, although there is no evidence that he ever made use of this land.¹ Occasionally sturgeon, partridges, rabbits, oxen or other animals from the estates were sent to Stafford's Household to supplement the provisions,² but there was no question of the Household relying for support directly from the demesne. A lord retained his rights to seigniorial control and the feudal incidences of ward, marriage, relief, escheat, waifs, strays and wrecks on his manors, for what these were worth by the fifteenth century, but otherwise his relationship with his manors was a strictly financial one; he and his Household and retainers were entirely dependent on rents, farms and other monetary dues collected by the officials from the estates.

On some manors, the whole unit was leased out to a tenant farmer. The free and unfree tenants paid to him their rents and dues. He met all charges and costs on the lands and retained any profits from the holding of the manorial court.³ In return for a regular annual farm,

1. SRO D641/1/2/167m1.

2. See below, pp. 211-213.

3. At Orcheston and Knocke manors in Wiltshire, Stafford, through his steward, retained the right to hold the manorial courts for himself (PRO SC6 1117/8m6; SRO D641/1/2/216mm.5d, 6d.).

usually a round sum in pounds or marks, the farmer had the right to exploit the lands for himself, short of waste and destruction, and saving the lord's own feudal seigneurial rights. The farmers of such manors, which were mainly those in Kent, Surrey, Essex and Buckinghamshire, had no real part in Stafford's administrative system except insofar as they rendered account to the receiver for their farm and for their observance of the conditions of the lease.

On his other manors Stafford retained a larger interest in that, through his stewards, he continued to administer justice at manorial level to his customary tenants. The demesne lands of these manors were leased out to farm, together with the various appurtenances of the demesne. Sometimes all were leased to one man, as at Rugby in 1437/38, where the farmer was John Newet, or at Lawford, to Richard Ansty, or Cornhampton, Wiltshire, to John Prouting, in 1447/8.¹ Sometimes the lands and appurtenances were granted out piecemeal to a number of tenants. It was not unusual to find a number of tenant farmers holding a lease jointly. At Kneesall in Nottinghamshire in 1456-57 there were eight joint tenant-farmers of the site of the manor, and at Colston Basset, in the same year, the five joint-farmers, who included the vicar of the church there, were farming the manor with all demesne lands and appurtenances at £8 per annum, this being the first year of their twelve-year term.² Farmers of the demesne could be free or unfree. Farm of the demesne lands at Whatcote manor in Warwickshire was granted "to all tenants of the lord there", and a close at Kneesall had been farmed to the "native" farmers for 56s.4½d. in past years, although by 1456-57 one man farmed the close, and its value had depreciated to 16s. per annum.

1. SRO D641/1/2/269m4; PRO SC6 1117/8m2.

2. PRO SC6 954/11mm.5, 3d.

The mill at Dowlais manor in Newport was farmed by a villein tenant on a forty-year lease on the 1447-48 account, the rent being 33s.4d. per annum.¹

On these manors, Stafford's officials retained direct control over the rest of the manorial lands which were held by the free and unfree tenants. The lands and appurtenances let to farm were leased out for a term of years in most cases, though leases at the will of the lord are occasionally found, as at Whatcote manor in the example quoted above.² Such leases were usually not made to free tenants, however. The length of a lease was commonly for one generation or less, and in fact any length of term from five to thirty-five years is common, but longer leases were occasionally granted. Barlaston manor in Staffordshire was farmed out for a thirty-five-year term in 1453-54, Hartwell manor for fifty years in 1452, and Tittensor manor for sixty years in 1448.³ A parcel of land in Bridgnorth was granted on a hundred-year lease from 1445/6. The land in question was, however, only an empty plot, worth 6d. per annum, on which the farmers had to build within one year of the beginning of the lease.⁴ In Tillington, a close worth ten shillings per annum was held by the Friars Minor for a three-hundred-year term, originally for a rent of a red rose at Midsummer, but in 1443 Stafford released the Friars from even this charge.⁵

Leases of land usually secured Stafford against any depreciation in his landed income, and freed him from most of the costs of maintenance of his estates, but such leases also meant a fixed income for the

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1. SRO D641/1/2/270m7; PRO SC6 954/11m5; SC6 924/23m.3d.
 2. SRO D641/1/2/270m7.
 3. SRO D641/1/2/59m6.
 4. SRO D641/1/2/62m7.
 5. SRO D641/1/2/54m4.

duration of the lease and it was the tenant farmers who were free to exploit the landed resources of the manors, subject to the conditions of the lease. Whether Stafford suffered financial difficulty through decline of income from his estates or not, there is little evidence to show that he sought to exploit his tenant farmers. In 1437/8, Henry VI granted Atherstone manor to Stafford, and in that year his revenues from it were £45.4.8. His expenditure on repairs, fees, expenses and decayed rents was £8.10.1, with £2 allowed to the accountant for the rent of an empty mill, a total of £10.10.1. In 1440, Stafford farmed the manor out for £40, which represented a small, but regular, profit to himself.¹

When a lease expired, and the lands were granted out again, they were, with few exceptions, regranted on the same terms. The original lease at £40 per annum, granted for three years, expired in 1444. The same farmer continued to lease the manor on the same terms until 1450, when the manor was lost in that year's Act of Resumption.² When the eight-year lease of ^{Church} Eaton manor, Staffordshire, expired in 1455/6, it was renewed at the same rate to the same farmer for a further twenty-year term.³ Barlaston, Hartwell and Tittensor manors were held at the same farms in 1454/5 as in 1437/8, although the farmers themselves had changed.⁴ An exception, however, is the site of Tillington manor which was farmed for £3 in 1442/3, and for £3.13.4 by 1445/6.⁵ Sometimes the new leases were granted at a lower farm, as at Knesale where, in 1456-57, the manor which was once worth £8 per annum was now farmed for only £6.⁶

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1. SRO D641/1/2/269m2, /270m3d.
 2. SRO D641/1/2/273m2.
 3. SRO D641/1/2/59m6d, /62m5d.
 4. PRO SC6 988/12m8d; SRO D641/1/2/59m6.
 5. SRO D641/1/2/54m4, /56m.3d.
 6. PRO SC6 954/11m5.

Demesne lands on a manor consisted of the lord's strips of arable land in the open fields. The lord also had the rights over land reclaimed from waste, but very little such land was reclaimed and farmed on Stafford's manors. Reclamation of waste land played no part in any estates programme which Stafford or his council may have had. Lands which came to Stafford by escheat were also farmed out. Escheats could occur for any one of a variety of reasons. Escheat occurred for lack of heir, as at Blymenhall manor, which came to Stafford in 1457 through lack of an heir to his tenant William Humfreson,¹ or through lack of claim from heirs, in which cases the lands in question were usually tenements or small-holdings, as on the 1446-47 account for Rumney manor.² Lands escheated if a tenant committed a felony,³ or if he alienated his holding to the Church without his lord's licence, or if he failed to make sufficient repairs to his tenement. Examples of both these last two reasons for lands escheating occur on the 1456-57 Kneesall manor account.⁴ At Stowe manor in Newport lordship, all native holdings reverted to Stafford because the native tenants had fled during the Welsh rebellions at the beginning of the century. Stafford could no longer hold manorial courts and draw the profits of these, but this loss was more than compensated for by the leasing out of the unfree lands at increased rents to the free tenants.⁵ Lands which came to Stafford during the minority of an heir were leased out, as in the case of William Verney in Welford, Warwickshire, which lands were in Stafford's

1. SRO D641/1/2/62m10; VCH Staffordshire, Vol. IV, p. 67.

2. PRO SC6 924/23m1.

3. At Tonbridge, lands escheated when the tenant committed the felonious act of suicide (SRO D641/1/2/233m6d.).

4. PRO SC6 954/11m5.

5. PRO SC6 924/23m4.

hands between at least 1443/4 and 1456/7.¹ In general, the holdings of demesne lands were larger, and more consolidated, than the holdings of customary tenants.

As well as lands, other appurtenances of the manor previously belonging to the lord and including his monopoly rights were granted out. These included the mills, water, wind and horse-driven, and multure rights on almost every manor, rights over the common oven, as at Colston Basset and, in 1437-38, at Atherstone,² the mining of sea-coal and quarrying for stone, both of which farms were leased out at Norton manor in Staffordshire, although the farmers of the quarrying rights sought to be released from their lease, worth 6s.8d. per annum, because the quarry was already worked out.³ Coal was also mined at Madeley in Staffordshire.⁴ Fishing rights were farmed at Tyso manor, at Eastington and Alkerton manors in Gloucestershire, and at Radcliffe, Nottinghamshire, where the boats and the swannery were also farmed, but these produced no return in 1456-57 as the boats had rotted and there were no swans, the cob having been killed by a pole-cat.⁵ Turbary rights, the right of cutting peat for fuel, were farmed at Madeley, the dove-cotes were farmed at Tyso, at Thornbury in Gloucestershire and at Hay Englishry, although here in 1453-54 the dove-cote was not farmed out because the doves had all been killed in the course of a feud with the tenants of Ewell lordship.⁶ Warrens were farmed out on many manors, including Eastington, Radcliffe and Haresfield. That at Tyso had

1. SRO D641/1/2/270m6d; PRO SC6 1040/15m6d.

2. PRO SC6 954/11m3d; SRO D641/1/2/269m2.

3. SRO D641/1/2/54m6.

4. PRO SC6 988/12m7.

5. PRO SC6 954/11m1.

6. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m3.

originally been farmed out but in 1443-44 was worthless as all the rabbits had been killed by hunters. By 1449-50 it had been restocked and was being farmed by the reeve for 3s.4d. The warrens of two villis near Tyso were also being farmed, for 8d. per annum. By 1456-57, on the advice of the lord's council, these warrens were guarded and reserved for the use of the Household at Maxstoke, the forty-year lease to the farmers of the warrens of the two villis notwithstanding.¹ Rights of agistment, pannage and herbage were also farmed on some manors like Westcombe in Wiltshire, Willsford in Wiltshire and Hay Englishry in Brecon lordship.

Farm of the mills could be a valuable source of income but other farms, while bringing in minor returns, were never particularly valuable in themselves and provide often an indication that Stafford perhaps had either no need or no inclination to exploit the resources of his estates. In many cases mills were not leased out because of disrepair. Those at Colston Basset had been blown down by excessive winds, and at Cornhampton the whole works and the river gates were broken, and repairs were estimated at a cost of £40. There was a marginal note on the account that the lord and his council should be consulted as to whether these repairs should be proceeded with.² Mills at Sheldon and Tyso were completely unworkable; a fulling mill at Huntingdon was not farmed out because it needed repairing and also the river there needed to be diverted so that sufficient water would again reach it.³ A favourite excuse in the Welsh lordships was that appurtenances of manors, such as mills, had been destroyed and burnt by the rebels at the

1. SRO D641/1/2/270m4; /272m4; PRO SC6 1040/15m5.

2. SRO D641/1/2/216m2.

3. SRO D641/1/2/269m3; /270m4; CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m5.

beginning of the century. Mills at Huntingdon and Machan were out of use for this reason.¹ In addition, dovecotes and warrens were left unstocked, notably at Stafford manor,² boats had sunk or were left to rot, mines and quarries were not regarded as particularly valuable — although there is perhaps an indication that Stafford did turn his attention to what might lie under his estates just before he died, for on 27 February 1459 he signed a contract with Master Adrian Sprinker, a German and the controller of the royal mines in Devon and Cornwall from 1451 to 1458.³ Sprinker was granted the lease of all the mines in Newport containing gold, silver, lead, copper, and any other metals to be found. In effect, this was a licence to prospect in Newport. Sprinker was bound to be retained by Stafford for twenty years, and Stafford was to have ten per cent royalties. No mention was made of the mining of coal there, which was in later centuries to be the foundation of the prosperity of this area.

It was one of the duties of the steward in the manorial court to draw up the terms of a lease, and details of the lease were frequently copied into the manorial account. Full details of the lease would of course be enrolled, as a permanent record, on the court rolls themselves. Manorial officials would doubtless be responsible not only for the collection of the annual farm but also for seeing that the terms of the lease were adhered to. The main condition of any lease concerned the repair and maintenance of lands and buildings, usually at the farmer's own expense, although in most cases Stafford would provide the heavy

1. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m5; PRO SC6 924/23m7.

2. Stafford manor dovecote remained unstocked between at least 1433/4 and 1460.

3. NLW MS Wynnstay 118, fos. 244-5; Cal. Pat. Rolls 1446-52, pp. 467-8, 502, 561, 569, 571; 1452-61, pp. 47, 142.

timber where necessary. The official on the manor was the man responsible for supervising the felling of trees for timber in Stafford's woods. On the account for Darlaston, Staffordshire, for 1454-55, there is a note, probably written in by the auditor, that an inquiry must be held concerning the fact that Henry Knight, bailiff there until the previous year, had (it was said) cut down a hundred oak trees.¹ On some leases, Stafford undertook to see to necessary repairs to certain specified buildings before the lease began. At Cornhampton, he undertook to repair and maintain the hall and chamber of the manor house, while the farmer provided the necessary food and drink for the workmen and saw to the maintenance of all other buildings and enclosures.² At Hartwell, Stafford agreed to repair hall, chamber, chapel and other official buildings, the farmer seeing to all roofs, windows, shutters and the facing of all stonework.³ On other manors, the farmer himself was to erect certain buildings like barns, cow-sheds and outhouses, or to make fences and dig ditches within so many years of entering on the term of his lease. At Wootton Wawen, the farmer was to build a new barn of five bays, Stafford contributing towards the cost of half of this. He was also to build another barn of three bays, to be used as a stable, and dig a new ditch around Downsfield, these last two works entirely at his own expense, although Stafford would provide the necessary timber. If, for his own convenience, the farmer wished to do any further building, he would also be provided with timber for this. All the obligatory work was to be completed during the first three years of his sixteen-year term.⁴ At Diffryn manor, William Kemeys,

1. SRO D641/1/2/59m7d.

2. PRO SC6 1117/8m2.

3. SRO D641/1/2/59m6.

4. SRO D641/1/2/270mm.5, 5d.

farmer of the two mills, had to see to all repairs to the mills and maintain them in good condition, by view of twelve native tenants of the manor.¹

On all manorial leases there was an injunction against any waste or unnecessary destruction which would devalue the property and cause the loss of future revenue. Frequently, however, farmers were allowed reasonable housebote, haybote, firebote and ploughbote — that is, sufficient timber for repairs to house, cart, plough and for fuel.² In addition to these two most important conditions of general maintenance and no waste, various other miscellaneous conditions could be attached to a lease. At Eastington and Alkerton in Gloucestershire, the farmer was to give, or pay the value of, his best beast to Stafford as heriot, at his death. This condition applied also to the farm of the mill, a toft and a messuage at Wootton Wawen.³ A frequent condition of a lease was that the farmer was to clear the land of thornbushes and weeds. At Wootton Wawen, the farmer was also directed to spread manure and compost only on the demesne lands.⁴ Some farmers had to provide hay and fodder for the horses of the lord's officials and, at Tyso, they had to provide four cartloads of logs, transporting them to the manor there at their own expense.⁵ The farmers of Stowe manor and Pencarn in Newport, a condition of the leases was the maintenance of sea-walls and water-ways, for this was an area liable to flood.⁶ At Pencarn also, the farmer was forbidden to cultivate his land for crops for the last

1. PRO SC6 924/23m5.

2. Eg. Blechingley and Stangrave manors, farmed to William Hexstall from 1435 (SRO D641/1/2/233m10 (5)).

3. SRO D641/1/2/172m5; PRO SC6 1040/15m4.

4. PRO SC6 1040/15m4.

5. SRO D641/1/2/270m4.

6. PRO SC6 924/23mm.2, 4.

two years of his term, but was to use it only for pastureland. At Cornhampton manor, a condition of the lease was that the farmer was to reside in person with his household and, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the farmer of Wootton Wawen manor was to fulfil the duties of bailiff, collector of rents, woodward and warrener.¹ On some manors, Stafford himself undertook to pay the taxes and tallages due to the King, Ockham in Kent providing one example,² although more usually the farmers themselves assumed these responsibilities, as at Eastington in Gloucestershire, where the farmer and his wife held joint tenancy for their lives.³

The final clause of a lease usually provided for the course of action open to the lord and his officials if rents fell into arrears or were unpaid. If the farmer was four weeks only in arrears, Stafford's officials were allowed to distrain on the land for payment. If he were six weeks or more in arrears the officials were allowed to enter and repossess the land in Stafford's name, the lease of the land notwithstanding.⁴ At Diffryn mills, however, if the farmer were behind in payment by as little as fifteen days, the lord, or his heirs or assigns, through the reeve of the manor, were to repossess the two mills unless or until the farmer could pay double payment for the period in arrears.⁵ There is no trace of such action being resorted to on such accounts as do survive, and in most cases farmers seem to have been prompt in making full payment. This clause does however raise the question of whether the farms were paid monthly, when all other rents

1. PRO SC6 1117/8m2; SRO D641/1/2/27Qm5d.'

2. SRO D641/1/2/233m3d.

3. PRO SC6 1117/10m7.

4. At Lawford in Warwickshire the farmer could be ejected after eight weeks in arrears (PRO SC6 1041/15m3d).

5. PRO SC6 924/23m5.

and payments were made half-yearly or quarterly.

There are instances of farmed land changing hands before the expiry of a lease. Thomas Woodfall had a twenty-year lease on Tillington manor, from Michaelmas 1451. In 1460/1, Hugh Ward is found to be farmer there, at the same rate of payment, for a twelve-year term, and no explanation is given for the change.¹ It may be that Woodfall died, although there is no mention on the account of the heriot that Woodfall was to pay if he died within the term of his lease. In the same way, at Michaelmas 1442, Tittensor manor was leased to William Slany and his son for a twenty-year term. At Michaelmas 1448 it was leased to one Richard Clure and his assigns, on a sixty-year lease at the same annual farm.² Barlaston manor, leased in 1442 to Roger Bagnold and his son John for twenty-four years at £5.6.8 per annum, duly descended to John in 1453 and a new lease was drawn up extending the term to thirty-five years, still at £5.6.8 per annum, with John agreeing in exchange for this extension to do a certain amount of rebuilding and repair work on the manor, within the first two years of his new term.³ It would seem from these few examples that Stafford was not regarding a change of tenant as an opportunity of increasing his income, nor that he was afraid of long leases with their fixed income return.

The lord of a manor, in addition to his arable demesne lands and their appurtenances, also held areas of parkland and woodland for his hunting and for the grazing of animals. Policy regarding this land varied, but generally it remained under the control of a parker or forester appointed by the lord, and was not leased out to his tenants. In

1. SRO D641/1/2/58m4; /63m4.

2. SRO D641/1/2/57m6; /59m6.

3. Ibid.

return for a small payment however, the tenants had the right of agistment, the pasturing of cattle or other domestic animals, and of pannage for their pigs on the land for all or part of the year. At Stafford manor in 1437-38, £18.5.4 was obtained from year-round agistment, whereas in 1442-43 only 1s.4d. was paid for four weeks' agistment, for Stafford retained use of the land for himself for the rest of the year. In 1445-46 agistments produced £1.10.3, Stafford's officials again retaining use of the land for most of the year,¹ and this continued to be the pattern at this manor. At Madeley, Tonbridge and Blechingley, all centres for his livery, he retained all agistment rights. The Treasurer of the Household leased the agistment rights at Maxstoke and various other manors for the use of the Household animals. At Oakham in Rutland, winter agistment rights were reserved for Stafford's use, while summer agistment rights were allowed to his tenants. In 1459-60 he received no agistment payment, for during the disturbances following the landing of the three Earls at Sandwich and leading up to the battle of Northampton on July 10 many tenants had driven their beasts into the park for safe keeping, and all grazing land had been destroyed.² Agistment rights could be a valuable source of income, but revenue from pannage rights varied from year to year since pannage was dependent on the fall of beechmast and acorns available for the pigs in any one year. At Machan Forest in 1446-47 no revenue was received from pannage because there were no acorns. In 1447-48, however, the net profits of pannage were £14.17.4.³ On a few manors, like Knesale, rights of agistment and pannage were farmed out, although sufficient pasture was to be available for the Household needs if necessary. On the Knesale account

1. PRO SC6 988/12m4; SRO D641/1/2/54m1, /56m1.

2. SRO D641/1/2/266m2.

3. NLW Tredegar MS 146m7d; PRO SC6 924/23m7d.

it is stated that no revenue was forthcoming from pannage rights, but that in future years they would be farmed out, ensuring a safe revenue of 20s. per annum.¹

A consequence of the leasing out of demesne land was that labour services from native tenants were no longer in such demand, and all or part of such services were, by the fifteenth century, commuted for a money payment. At Tyso, labour services worth 18s.3d. per annum were commuted but in 1456-57 Stafford paid 3d. for bread, cheese and ale for his customary tenants.² At Radcliffe in the same year he also provided food and drink for certain tenants performing carriage services,³ but on most manors he found it more practical and profitable to commute all services and then hire such labour as he needed on manors where there was still some degree of demesne farming. At Thornbury, in 1459-60, works were commuted for £52.9.1½, with an allowance of £2.2.4 for the feast days, representing an income of £50.6.9½ for that year. Against this was the cost of harvesting herbage for hay for animals in winter, for storage, and for the horses of the receiver and steward when they were at the manor. In this year it was £2.0.4, and the profit to Stafford for the commuted works was thus over £48 that year.⁴ On some accounts, as in this one for Thornbury, the relaxed works were still entered on the account in great detail as an indication that they could be demanded again without difficulty if the need for them ever arose in the future. On other accounts, however, commuted works are given in a lump sum, or have vanished entirely.

The manorial officials would be responsible for arranging the sale

1. PRO SC6 954/11m5.

2. SRO D641/1/2/270m4; PRO SC6 1040/15m5d.

3. PRO SC6 954/11m.1d.

4. PRO SC6 1117/10,mm4, 4d.

would be responsible for arranging the sale of such produce as the manor afforded. Sales of hay and fodder and other crops were made very rarely, as insufficient was grown even to supply Household needs. The main items sold were the incidental produce of Stafford's woods — timber, brushwood, faggots of wood, logs, thornbushes. Sales depended on supply, and income was never high, fluctuating greatly from year to year. At Haresfield in 1456-57, 2s. was raised from two licences granted for the quarrying of stone, but no stone was quarried or sold on Stafford's behalf.¹ At Radcliffe, in the same year, 1s. was obtained from the sale of three cartloads of plaster from the quarry there to the Prioress of Langley,² and in Hay Englishry in 1453-54, 2s.6d. was received from the sale of 60 lb. of lead mined in the castle grounds.³ At Tyso each year, a shilling or two was made from the sale of manure from the animals of the tenants there, which were driven at night into the outer court of the manor to protect the growing crops in summer.⁴

Leases of farm of demesne lands were one of the most important elements, in financial terms, of the manor. Incidental and casual profits only were to be obtained from Stafford's remaining rights over the demesne. The other major element in manorial economy was a more ancient one, that of the rents from Stafford's tenants, free and unfree, who held land of him, the strips in the large open fields, tofts and crofts in the villages, shops, stalls and tenements in his boroughs. Tenants in the boroughs would be freemen, but it is impossible to calculate the proportion of free to unfree tenants on the manor from

1. PRO SC6 1117/9m6.

2. PRO SC6 954/11m1d.

3. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m3.

4. PRO SC6 1040/15m5.

manorial accounts. It would seem likely that a majority would still be the unfree cultivators of the customary, villein tenements.¹ The reeve or bailiff's main duties were in connection with the collection of the various rents and other customary payments from the tenants of the manor, his charge of rents being based upon the rentals and custumals of his manor. These were drawn up or renewed by recognition under oath of the tenants themselves, in the presence of manorial officials and the receiver or steward. The rentals provided a brief summary of information concerning the tenants, what lands they held, under what tenure and conditions, and for what rent. It would seem that the first duty of officials, on the acquisition of new estates, was the drawing up of new rentals. The rental used for Maxstoke throughout this period was one made on 10 February 1438, the day from which the first account runs.² It would appear, however, that Stafford did not feel it immediately necessary to renew the rentals of the vast numbers of manors inherited from his mother in 1438. The rental being used at Thornbury manor in 1459-60 was apparently based on one made in 1380-81,³ and this was no isolated example. Rentals were, in general, infrequently renewed and those of Edward III, Richard II and Henry IV's reigns were still in use on some manors in the 1440s.⁴ Renewal of rentals obviously

1. In the Redd Book of Caus (NLW Peniarth MS 280) there are copies of Stafford's manumissions of freedom to his villeins, e.g. at Nether Gorthor, in 1441, at Burton Pudsey in Holderness, in 1441, at Thornbury, in 1442, at Callington in Cornwall (fos. 42, 45, 59, 91).

2. SRO D641/1/2/269m1.

3. PRO SC6 1117/10m1.

4. E.g. Petersfield rental, made in 24 Edward III, was still used in 1448-49 (PRO SC6 1117/8m1), Hildenborough's rental dated from 9 Richard II (SRO D641/1/2/233m4), Mapledurham's rental of 1448-49 dated from 15 Richard II and Westcombe's rental in 1448-49 from 5 Henry IV (PRO SC6 1117/8mml, 3). Most of Newport lordship's rentals were renewed in Henry V's reign, and were still in use there in 1522, a century later (Pugh, Marcher Lordships of South Wales, p. 162).

entailed a great deal of work and organization, and not a little expense. In 1453-54 and for years afterwards, the Stafford receiver was claiming £6.13.4 for labour costs and expenses for himself, the clerk of the courts and other officials for renewing rentals at Bradley, Madeley, Tittensor, Barlaston, Eaton and Darlaston;¹ it was obviously less trouble, and cheaper, to have new copies made of the old rentals. In 1453-54, at Hay Englishry, a clerk was paid 3s.4d. for making a new copy of a rental of 1417-18, "pro noticia redditorem et firmorum ibidem meliori habenda".²

Copyhold lands — lands held in accordance with a written title, as on a rental or custumal — were usually held by unfree tenants, although in some cases the tenant himself was personally free. Many of Stafford's officials in Staffordshire, like the Barbours, Whitgreves, Roger Clerk, Richard Donne, Richard Stiche, held lands at will in and around Stafford.³ There were three main categories of copyholders, according to the security of their tenure. The most numerous were the tenants at the will of the lord, holding land at his pleasure and liable to summary ejection. In a period when the prosperity of a manor was dependent on the numbers of tenants, and when accounts are sprinkled with entries recording that parcels of land were worth nothing because vacant through lack of tenants, the possibility of such summary ejection, except for felony, was unlikely. Tenants for terms of years had their tenure secured for that period, after which they too could, in theory, be dispossessed. In the third category were the tenants for life, whose holdings were held by the lord's grant for one or more generations, some

1. SRO D641/1/2/59m11d; /60m10d; /62m12d.

2. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m3d.

3. Accounts for Stafford manor and rents 1433/4-1457/8 (SRO D641/1/2/53-62), *passim*.

few favoured tenants holding rent-free tenements.¹ Sometimes a man and his wife held lands jointly, the lands remaining with whoever lived the longer, until both were dead. Sometimes the grant included the children of the marriage, the land reverting to Stafford only after the last of these was dead also. Usually it passed to, or remained with, all nominated in the grant on the original terms of the grant, but Thomas Whitgreve and his wife, Thomasina, and their heirs held a tenement in Stafford at 5s. per annum for the lifetime of Thomasina. After her death, her heirs were to continue to hold the land but at the increased rent of 6s.8d. per annum.²

"Almost any item or any piece of information may be found under any heading,"³ and entries for customary rents are made under a wide variety of headings — for tenants at will, for term of years, for life, for free tenants at will, native rents, cottagers' rents — although no very clear distinctions are observed between the various headings. Entries for new and increased rents can be found under their separated headings or, indeed, under any other, including rents of assize.⁴ The new and increased rents were, as their names suggest, rents paid in addition to the original assessment, usually of only a few pence a year in most cases. They were paid because the land had increased in value, usually through improvements made by the tenants after obtaining a licence from Stafford. Licences were granted for building a leap-gate,⁵

1. Grant of 5s. rents to a groom, Henry Hans, for good service, for life; a house and a garden near the great church in Stafford, to Thomas Barbour, sometime Receiver-General, from 1428 for life (PRO SC6 988/12mm5, 5d.).

2. SRO D641/1/2/54m2.

3. A.E. Levett, "The financial organization of the manor," ECHR I (1927), 68-69.

4. N. Neilson, "Customary Rents," in Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History, ed. P. Vinogradoff, Vol. II (Oxford 1910), p. 7.

5. A low gate, over which deer could leap, but which prevented sheep from straying.

or a weir, a room above the East Bar Gate at Oakham, for erecting a wall, for enclosing land, for increasing the size of a building. The fines paid by various tenants at Thornbury manor for permission to decline the offices of reeve, beadle or tithingman are entered under the heading of "new rents".

The usual form of entry, under any heading, followed a set pattern, unless rents were given as a lump sum with no details for individual rents, as they sometimes were. Usually, the amount of rent charged against the accountant is given first, followed by the name and location of the piece of land, the name of the present tenant, sometimes accompanied by that of the previous tenant, and the rent he had paid. In every case where this is given on Stafford's accounts, the rents have since decreased in amount. Where land was held for a term of years, the length of the term, and any special conditions relating to repairs or reversion, are also stated. Because rentals were frequently old and out-dated, the accountant could be charged with rents for lands which had declined in value for some reason, either because they were vacant through lack of a tenant, were lying fallow, had depreciated for natural causes like floods or storms, or were in a bad state of repair. In Newport and Brecon forty or so years after the Welsh rebellions of Henry IV's reign, lands and their appurtenances were still showing a loss of revenue on the accounts because they were said to have been disrupted, burnt or destroyed by the rebels. For any of a number of reasons, the rents could be lower than those shown on the rental, and in such cases the accountant was allowed a reduction in his charge as the first item on the discharge side of his account under the heading of "decayed or defective rents". These were rents which were officially acknowledged as lost or reduced; lost and reduced rents for which the accountant had not been granted an official discharge were

entered in the items in respite at the end of the account until such time as a review of rents should be made. It should be pointed out that decreases in the value of land were common, and the revenue lost was never made up by the few shillings or so collected in the new and increased rents.

Free and unfree, English and Welsh, all tenants paid assized rents, which were always the first item charged on an account. On some accounts, they were assessed on the manor or vill as a whole; on others, only individual tenants are named. At Colston Bassett in 1456-57, only 5s. was collected in rents of assize, and all of it from one tenant for one virgate and one messuage of land which he held freely.¹ It is not known what proportion of tenants on a manor paid these rents or whether the assessment was personal or territorial. A.E. Levett says: "No single or simple definition of rents of assize is of any use to the historian. Any manor or group of manors may be working on a definition of its own." She says that the money may be a money rent in the nature of a tribute or tax or, more probably, as commutation of dues in kind, but that there is no possibility of regarding it as commuted labour services.² The Stafford accounts contribute very little towards a definition of rents of assize. Although on several accounts the entries under this heading include commuted rents in kind, usually of pepper or cumin, these were usually individual rents in addition to the lump sum of rents of assize from the manor or vill, and in the majority of cases they have been relaxed by the auditor, whereas rents of assize were never relaxed. The entry for rents of assize for Machan Forest in Newport seems to contradict one

1. PRO SC6 954/11m3.

2. A.E. Levett, Studies in Manorial History, edited (after the author's death) by H.M. Cam, M. Coate and L.S. Sutherland (Oxford 1938), pp. 50-51.

statement made by Levett, however. The entry reads: "Et de 10s receptis de redditu assizo vocato Wodekeyyll, tam de nativis domini de Rempny quam de nativis domini de Develes,"¹ and Professor Rees defines Woodkeyyll as a rent paid in commutation for the service of carrying loads of wood to the lord's castle or manor.²

Unlike most other rents, assized rents were not necessarily paid in equal portions, a fact which is probably related in some way to the origin of these payments. The largest payment was always that made at Michaelmas and probably relates to the harvest. At Dowlars manor, for example, the total payment of £11.1.1 was made in four instalments of £2.2.2 at St. Andrew's Day, 17s.6½d. at Hockday, £1.7.1½ at Midsummer and £6.14.3 at Michaelmas.³

Farms and rents represented some eighty per cent of manorial income, and their collection was probably the most onerous part of the reeve's or bailiff's work. In addition to these straightforward money payments for land, there were also a variety of other dues and taxes which he was also called upon to collect. These could be assessed on the manor as a whole or on individual tenants. The 10s.8d. to be collected at Thornbury as payment for "gifts" of ducks, capons, hens, half a pair of spurs and four arrows was larger than the average for such commuted payments in kind, but Thornbury was a valuable manor.⁴ Chevage and advowry payments were still collected at some manors, at most a few shillings per annum, and other servile dues, merchet and heriot, were also sometimes collected. Only the heriots, where they were

1. PRO SC6 924/23m7d.

2. W. Rees, South Wales and the March, 1284-1415: a social and agrarian study (London 1924), pp. 121, 171.

3. NLW Tredegar MS 146m3. Hockday was the second Tuesday after Easter.

4. SRO D641/1/2/162ml.

commuted for money payments, were ever really worth collecting.

The lord had the right to tallage his unfree tenants at will, and traces of such payments are still found although it appears that officials, on the English estates at least, were finding them difficult to collect. An aid called Scorefee was payable by unfree tenants holding twenty acres of land on the Rutland manors of Oakham, Eggleton and Langham, but by 1459-60 the officials on these manors were claiming respite of payment for the past twenty-two years as they found it impossible to collect the Scorefee payment.¹ Frithfee, Wakefee and Kelgh were customary payments from various villis around Stafford, but the collector claimed respite for the 1s. per annum due from the tenants of the area before the gate of Stafford borough from 1435-36 onwards, alleging that the money could not be collected since the tenants had run off.² At Willsford in Wiltshire, the tallage payment was rented out among the tenants of the customary lands, and seems to have been collected, and a customary payment of 34s. was successfully collected at Hildenborough in Kent in 1445-46.³ Officials on the Welsh manors were usually successful in maintaining the payment of dues such as Commorth, due at Machan and Hay Welshry every second year, and at Huntingdon prepositus every third year.⁴ This represented a money payment for a tribute of oxen and sheep. A customary payment at Machan manor was Botellegh worth £5 per annum, but this was not collected as Stafford had released his tenants from this payment.⁵

In the boroughs the local officials were responsible for collecting

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1. SRO D641/1/2/266mm.3, 4, 5.
 2. SRO D641/1/2/62ml2d.
 3. PRO SC6 1117/8m5; SRO D641/1/2/233m.4 (6).
 4. NLW Tredegar MS 146m.8; CPL Breconshire Deeds 4mm.4d, 5.
 5. NLW Tredegar MS 146m.8.

various rents for shops, stalls and tenements, and also the various tolls and taxes which a lord had the right to levy at fairs and markets. Stallage rights at Blechingley, street-pence at Brastead, a payment for the right of burgesses to have shops open to the king's highway, port-mote and stall-silver at Oakham, toll-pixy and chenser, payments by traders who were not burgesses for the right to trade in the borough, the fines for the holding of the assizes of bread and ale, as at Newport and Oakham, were all sources of revenue from Stafford's boroughs.¹ Tolls on markets and fairs held on set days were sometimes farmed out. At Huntingdon prepositus, the toll of the market in Kington and Huntingdon was farmed out, and sureties taken for payment of the farm, together with the farm of the toll-pixy and chenser payments at Kington and Brynley.² Like the farms and rents of land, farms of market dues could depreciate for no apparent reason. At Atherstone, the farm of the toll of seven fairs and one market was reduced in 1437-38 from 13s.4d. to 10s.³

At various times during the year, the manorial or borough officials received the steward, the clerk of the courts and their servants and livery for the holding of the sessions of the local manor, borough or hundred court. They were maintained during the sessions at the expense of the manor for food, lodging and fodder, these expenses being a regular item on the discharge side of the account. The number of courts held per year varied from manor to manor and from year to year, but two would perhaps be an average for most manors. Views of

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1. SRO D641/1/2/233mm9 (3), 7 (4) for Blechingley and Brastead; SRO D641/1/2/266m2 for Oakham; NLW Tredegar MS 146mm6d, 7, for Newport and Machan borough entries.
 2. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4m5.
 3. SRO D641/1/2/269mm.2, 2d. The collector was allowed 3s.4d. in decayed rents.

frankpledge were also held by the steward.

All unfree tenants on the manor were obliged to attend the court, and tenants paying chevage for a licence to reside outside the manor had to return to present suit of court. Failure to attend meant a fine. The local officials, with their detailed knowledge of manorial or borough affairs, were probably important men at the court sessions, although the steward himself would preside. The importance of the court sessions and views of frankpledge was declining. At Petersfield in Hampshire, the tenants had paid a fine for exemption from views of frankpledge, and even this was released to them, in perpetuity, by Stafford from 1441.¹ Freemen of the manor took their grievances to the royal courts, and unfree tenants were not always anxious to entrust their affairs to their lord who, with his financial interests in the judgments, might not always be relied upon to be impartial. The judicial capacities of the lord were, by the fifteenth century, a relatively unimportant aspect of his control, and this is hardly surprising as manorial courts were associated more with feudal or seigneurial rule than with mere landlordship. There is at least one case, however, in which Stafford seems to be trying to exert judicial rights over tenants. In 1428, he and his Receiver-General, Thomas Barbour, were themselves summoned before the royal courts concerning their treatment of some tenants at Westcombe manor. Barbour, maintaining that the tenants were fugitives and rebellious villeins, had broken into their closes and distrained upon their goods, linen and woollen cloth, brass and wooden utensils to the value of £10. The plaintiffs not only protested that they were free and that, as such, Stafford had no jurisdiction over them, but claimed damages of £100. Despite an

1. PRO SC6 1117/8ml.

appeal, the judgment, by jury verdict, was given in their favour and against Stafford.¹

Court profits represented only a small proportion of manorial profits, perhaps only five per cent, the figure Rosenthal gives for the estates of Richard of York in the 1440s.² Perquisites of court were the fines and payments made to the steward and entered on to the local account, for the steward did not present his own account to the receiver. On some manorial accounts, particularly those of the Gloucestershire manors, the various sources of court profits are specified, providing some indication of the routine business of the courts. At Thornbury in 1459-60 there was an unusually high number of courts, sixteen in the course of the year. The profits, entered on the beadle's account, are made up of the common fine, £3.6.8, fines for suit of court, £1.8.4, fines for land, and licences to enter, £4.18.6, homage 6d., forfeited chattels 6d., licences to search the rolls and records of the courts, 8d., brewers' licences 8d., merchet 1s.8d., pardons to transgressors 6d., and "other perquisites" of £2.18.10. Total profits, with a chevage fine of 5s., were £13.2s., although the beadle records that in the previous year profits had amounted to £20.17s., £13.3.5 of which had been entry fines. The account of the reeve of Thornbury for 1459-60 gives perquisites of courts, in heriots and forfeited stray beasts, of £1.11s.³ These were high profits, and it must be noted that most came from entry fines to land.

It was the steward at the manorial court who drew up leases of land, and this was an increasingly important part of his work. Other

1. Extracts from the Plea Rolls, ed. G. Wrottesley, pp. 123, 125.

2. Rosenthal, "Estates and finances of Richard, Duke of York," p. 164.

3. PRO SC6 1117/10mm.4d, 2.

business which might come before the court were cases of breaking the assize of ale, waste of oak-trees, non-repair of tenements, which, in 1456-57 at Wootton Wawen, should have brought in a fine of twenty marks. The bailiff claimed this in respite, as the tenant alleged that he had made sufficient repairs and need not pay the fine. Originally it had been a fine of forty marks, and this twenty marks was the arrears from the previous account.¹ Chattels forfeited through felony at Rugby produced £5.6.9 in 1456-57.² At Thornbury manor court in 1445-46, the tenants and residents of Morton, Kington and Oldbury were claiming respite for a fine of £3 imposed unjustly by the steward, as they said, because they had not separated a certain parcel of free land from a parcel of customary land in the tenure of one John Bartlett.³ On the account for 1452-53, John Dyer, constable of Oldbury, was fined £5 for allowing the escape of a felon from Stafford's prison at Thornbury. The prisoner had taken sanctuary in the church, and later escaped from there also, which meant the imposition of a £5 fine on the tenants and residents of Thornbury, Oldbury, Kington and Morton for not preventing the escape from the church.⁴

One feature of the charge on the accounts is that new sources of revenue did not come and go, although payments for casual revenues, like sales of wood or produce, or for pannage of pigs, could fluctuate greatly, and sometimes were not collected at all. Conservatism of method and way of life accounts to a great extent for the fact that on accounts such as those for Gloucestershire from the 1430s to the 1460s, almost identical

1. PRO SC6 1040/15m4d.

2. PRO SC6 1040/15m3.

3. SRO D641/1/2/172m2; /175m3d. The fine had been paid on the 1452-53 account (SRO D641/1/2/176m3d.).

4. SRO D641/1/2/176m3d.

sources of revenue are recorded each year, although, of course, the amount of revenue varied. Local custom and acknowledged obligations usually determined the categories of payment, and sometimes those were retained on the accounts long after any significant sums were forthcoming.

On most manors, the outgoing payments made by the reeve or bailiff were relatively modest in comparison with the categories and size of payments charged against him. In the first place, there were the foreign rents and payments charged on the manor. On some manors, Stafford himself held land from another lord or the Church, and paid rent for it. In most cases, the land in question was only a small piece of meadow or pasture and the rent very small. At Lawford in Warwickshire, Stafford paid 9d. to the Abbot of Coombe in rent; at Sheldon, a total of 15s.2d. to various lords including the Prior of Maxstoke; at Willsford, Wiltshire, he paid 1s. rent to the Abbot of Wilton and in Norton, Staffordshire, he held 5s.6d. worth of rents in Grotton and Badley Hall.¹ On many manors a few shillings per annum were paid in tithes to the Church for certain lands, or from profits of agistment, pannage and herbage. Various payments were also made to royal officials. At Stafford, he paid £1.6.8 in rent to the sheriff of the King's Pool,² and in Wiltshire the fee-farm of Westcombe and West Bedwind, worth £31.10s. per annum, was paid by Stafford's bailiff to the sheriff until 1438, when Henry VI granted the fee-farm to Stafford. He lost it in the 1450 Act of Resumption, but it was subsequently regranted to him as part of his salary as Constable of Dover.³ He owed suit of

1. SRO D641/1/2/269mm4d, 3, for Lawford and Sheldon; PRO SC6 1117/8m5 for Willsford; SRO D641/1/2/54m6, for Norton.

2. SRO D641/1/2/54m3.

3. PRO SC6 1117/8m3; SRO D641/1/2/216m3.

court at Cornhampton for the Hundred court of Mimestoke, but this obligation was relaxed by payment of 1s.4d. to the sheriff of Wiltshire.¹ Similar relaxation of suit of court at the Hundred of Knightley was made by payment of 1s.8d. by the farmer of Lawford to the sheriff. At Lawford also, the farmer paid 1s.2d. to the bailiff of the Hundred court as payment of Sheriff's Aid. This Sheriff's Aid, a common burden on geldable land, was also paid at Radcliffe manor in Nottinghamshire.²

Administrative expenses were another standing charge on the manorial revenues. They included the fees of the accountant himself, discussed in the previous chapter, fees of other local officials like reapers, beadles, clerks writing the accounts or court rolls, warreners and parkers, although these two last were more usually paid their fees by the receiver of the area on his account. At Maxstoke, Hay Englishry and Huntingdon prepositus, the fees of the constable and janitors of the castles were paid on the manorial accounts, although again, these men were more usually paid by a receiver. The expenses of the steward and his retinue, while staying at the manor for the sessions of the manorial courts, were another charge on the manorial revenues. Very occasionally it might be the case that the steward's expenses exceeded the amount collected as profits of court. At Wootten Wawan, in 1443-44, court profits were 10d., steward's expenses 5s. At Norton, Staffordshire, in 1450-51, profits were 1s.10d. and expenses 3s.³ There were often various allowances associated with the audit each year. Travelling expenses, usually at the rate of 1s. for the return journey, were allowed

1. PRO SC6 1117/8m2.

2. SRO D641/1/2/269m4d; PRO SC6 954/11m1d. The exact nature of this aid, or the unit of assessment, is unknown. It may have been a payment to defray the sheriff's expenses in office.

3. SRO D641/1/2/270m5d; /57m5.

to an accountant for travelling between his manor and the administrative centre where the audit was being held. On some manors, which served as auditing centres, there was the cost of sending out messengers to summon the other local officials. At Westcombe in 1448-49, 1s. was paid to a man sent to the manors of Knocke and Orcheston to warn officials there to come to the audit; 1s. was the fee paid at Maxstoke in 1456-57 to a messenger sent round to all the other Warwickshire manors, while on the Tyso account for 1444-45 William Coral, a retainer of Stafford's, was paid 2s.6d. for riding from Maxstoke to Radcliffe, Colston Basset and Oakham to warn that officials there should make suitable preparations for their audits since the auditor's work at Maxstoke was almost completed and he would soon be on his way.¹

Other administrative expenses were on paper, parchment for court-rolls and extracts, candles, canvas money-bags and ink, and these never amounted to more than a few pence each year. At Brecon manor in 1453-54, 4d. was spent on a piece of linen cloth to keep strong winds and draughts from the window of the styward's chamber during the audit.² At Huntingdon prepositus in the same year, 6d. was paid to a man sent to Presteigne to collect the court rolls from the clerk of the court there before the auditor arrived, and 6d. was also paid to a man sent to Newcourt to warn the steward of the lordship to come to Huntingdon for the holding of a certain court there.³ There were sometimes various other such necessary expenses in connection with administration on the estates. At Newport borough in 1447-48 a 5s. fee was paid to the men guarding the borough gates and roads at the fairs and markets

1. PRO SC6 1117/8m3d for Westcombe, PRO SC6 1040/15mld for Maxstoke, SRO D641/1/2/27lm4d for Tyso.

2. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, mld.

3. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m5d.

and at other times, for the maintenance of peace and the profits of the lordship.¹ At Rugby manor in 1456-57, Nicholas Cowley was paid 5s. for policing the fair there, and at Huntingdon prepositus again in 1453-54, 2s. was paid to various officials at the fair of St. Thomas of Canterbury (December 29), "for the good government of the peace between the men of that lordship and other lordships".²

Annuities and fees to retainers were not usually paid by the manorial officials except for those from manors within the Receiver-General's area, where it was a more convenient arrangement for the retainer to have his fee assigned for payment at the Stafford manor nearest his own home, rather than wait for the money to be paid through the Receiver-General himself. In the other receiverships, which were smaller and more compact, and accounting was correspondingly quicker and less cumbersome, payment of annuities was often assigned on a particular manor, but here payment was not made until the manorial official had accounted to his receiver, who then, himself, paid out the annuities.

There were few foreign expenses to be met by manorial officials. Where such expenses did arise, they were generally payments connected with administration, as at Newport and Rugby above, or with the expenses of the Household. At Thornbury manor a regular charge on the revenue was wages to various men for driving animals into the park for summer agistment, or for rounding up stray beasts into the lord's folds. The transporting of deer, fish, rabbits, sheep and other livestock caught or killed on the manors to the Household, wherever it might be, was usually a charge on the receiver's account,³ but a man who caught a

1. PRO SC6 924/23m9.

2. PRO SC6 1040/15m3; CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m5d.

3. See below, p. 212.

special delicacy on a manor usually received a reward. In 1446-47, a man at Thornbury was paid 6d. for taking a porpoise from the pool to the house of one John Fort, to be sent off to Stafford's Household, and in 1448-49 Thomas Jones was paid 3s.4d. for the capture of a "royal fish", a sturgeon, for the lord.¹ Special journeys from the manor, undertaken on Stafford's business, were charged on the manor's revenues. On the 1442-43 account, a man was sent from Thornbury in April 1443 to the Treasurer of the Household, then at Newport, in order to inquire what provisions should be obtained for Stafford's forthcoming visit to the manor, and was paid 2s. for his journey.² At Kneßsalle in 1456-57 the parker incurred expenses of 4s. for travelling from Torksey to Hull for salt and hard fish and for the hiring of ten carts to transport the same to Maxstoke. On the Radcliffe account for the same year, the bailiff had had to travel to Nottingham to make enquiries about wine for Maxstoke which should have arrived from Hull. He had to hire a cellar in which to store it, and carts in which to carry it, at a total expense of 28s.3d.³

Another foreign expense on the manor was sometimes that of alms, but remarkably little regular expenditure was made for this purpose from either manor or receivership, and it is probable that most of Stafford's alms-givings were made from his privy purse, as private expenditure. Payments which were made on manorial accounts included 13s.4d. per annum from Brastead to the Abbey of Keynsham, and £6.13.4 from Hildenborough to the Prior and Convent of Tonbridge.⁴

The one major item of expenditure on the manor was that of the cost

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1. SRO D641/1/2/173m2d; /174m2d.
 2. SRO D641/1/2/17Qm2.
 3. PRO SC6 954/11mm.5d, 1d.
 4. SRO D641/1/2/233mm.7d (4d), 4 (6).

of repairs and general maintenance of the estates and their appurtenances, an item closely connected with the manorial official's work as supervisor of Stafford's interests on his lands. He had not only to see that there was no waste or destruction of resources, and that the terms and conditions of leases were observed, but also to set in motion repairs and building programmes where necessary, buying the raw materials, seeing to the felling of trees for timber, hiring and paying workmen and labourers. In this work he would himself no doubt be supervised and advised by the receiver or steward. On most manors it was the smaller repairs to manor buildings, mills or tenements that were dealt with by manorial officials, and the cost of large-scale repairs was usually met by the receiver. In the Receiver-General's area and the Staffordshire receiver's area the manors themselves met all costs, large or small, of repairs, for the profits of these receiverships were assigned in such a way as to leave no margin for repair or maintenance costs.¹ Tenants on the Stafford estates were usually bound to maintain their tenements and the appurtenances of these in good repair, and were fined for failure to do so. On the Westcombe account for 1448-49, the accountant is claiming respite of a £30 fine charged on William Godswain for non-repair of three tenements. Godswain's goods and chattels had already been distrained upon for the fine, but he was claiming exoneration from the fine altogether, on the grounds that his tenements were in good repair.² At Wootton Wawen in 1456-57, however, the fine of 6s.8d. on the vicar of the church there for not repairing a tenement was excused by a warrant from Stafford to his auditor.³ Sureties for a lease were equally bound by fines if farmers did not

1. See below, pp. 205-206.

2. PRO SC6 1117/8m3d.

3. PRO SC6 1040/15m4d.

carry out their repairs, as Thomas Leny, receiver of Newport, discovered. He had probably had to stand surety for the lease of the mills at Stowe, at which manor he had a controlling interest because one of the farmers was from outside the lordship. Repairs to the mills were not carried out and were estimated at £40, a sum which, after 1446, the year of Leny's death, was transferred to his executors. They, however, were successful in evading payment, although in 1457 Leny's son's inherited estates in Newport, worth only £2 per annum, were seized in order to recover the debt.¹

Most repairs were to the fabric of a building, to walls, roofs, doors and windows, chimneys, guttering, and mill-wheels and other mill machinery. On most accounts, full details are given for materials bought and used, whether timber, nails of various sorts and sizes, hooks, clasps, hasps, tiles, thatch, sand, clay, lime or plaster. Timber for some repairs was cut in Stafford's own woods, under the supervision of his officials, to be transported wherever needed, at the cost of hiring carts and carters for the task, although at Stafford, Radcliffe and Westcombe at least, Stafford had not commuted his customary tenants' carriage services,² even though other services had been replaced by money payments. The manorial officials were responsible for the hiring of the various types of workmen and craftsmen, carpenters, thatchers, tilers, wrights, smiths, masons of all kinds, and all the other necessary labourers. These craftsmen were often accompanied by their apprentices. Payment was usually made at a daily rate, the apprentice receiving a lower rate of payment than his master or the main craftsmen in charge. Sometimes the reeve or bailiff might make an agreement on a fee for the

1. PRO SC6 924/23m4d; /25mm.5, 11.

2. SRO D641/1/2/54m3; PRO SC6 954/11m1d; SRO D641/1/2/216m3.

completed job of work, irrespective of how long it might take.

As well as repairs to buildings, there were also the costs of enclosures, ditches and other work connected with agricultural costs. Enclosures were only temporary barriers of wooden palisades, easily erected and removed. Fencing often had to be renewed every year, involving a great deal of work and time. At Kneesall, the receiver arranged with the parker that he should receive an annual allowance of five marks for seeing to such repairs whenever necessary, a bargain which could sometimes be to the advantage of the parker or, in years when a great deal of fencing needed to be done, to his disadvantage. Usually the rate was a rate for specific repairs, however. At Kneesall again, on the 1456-57 account, there was a charge of 1s.4d. for the wages of workmen hired to flood a pond for the watering of wild and domestic animals,¹ and the building and repair of folds for such animals was also a recurring item of expenditure. At Machan forest in 1447-48, 6s. was spent for the building of six folds in various places, and in the same year repairs to the fold at Dowlais cost 1s.²

The cost of repairs could be a considerable burden on the manor. At Oakham in 1459-60 the total repair bill of £7.10.0 $\frac{1}{2}$ included £4.13.4 on repairs to the castle walls and £2.0.08 $\frac{1}{2}$ for repairs within the castle.³ In 1442-43 at Stafford, £15.0.2 $\frac{1}{2}$ was spent on various repairs to barns, stables, roofs and fencing within the castle, and in 1456-57, materials for repairs, mainly timber and shingles, to various shops and stalls at Rugby cost 17s.11d.⁴ At Huntingdon prepositus in 1453-54, mill repairs cost 17s.6d. and repairs to the castle, mainly to the

1. PRO SC6 954/11m5d.

2. PRO SC6 924/23mm7d, 3d.

3. SRO D641/1/2/266m2d.

4. SRO D641/1/2/54ml; PRO SC6 1040/15m3.

woodwork and walls, cost £8.2.1. The making of new palisades in the park, with costs of materials, was another £4.1.6. In the same year, however, the only necessary repairs at Brecon were the clearing and clearing out of all mud and muck from gutters, walls and towers, at a cost of 3s.4d.¹ There was a certain amount of rebuilding at Maxstoke Castle, which Stafford acquired in 1438 and made the main centre for his Household. In 1450-51, a carpenter was paid £3.6.8 as part payment for his work on the nine new rooms being built, and in the same year repairs to the castle included the making of an oriel for the trumpeter in the main hall, and the making of a "parlour and closset" for his wife. The year's bill for materials and wages was £5.10.2½,² and there is no way of knowing the total cost of the whole rebuilding programme. A carpenter and a smith were employed at Westcombe manor in 1454-55, in building a pair of stocks, "pro felonibus in eisdem incarcerandis", at a total cost to the manor of 4s.11d.³

Some repairs had to be carried out as a matter of urgency. At Pencarn in 1447-48, repairs to the sea-wall, broken by storms, cost 5s.2d., and similar repairs at Stowe, 6s.4d. At Thornbury also, repairs to sea-walls are sometimes included on the accounts. There was a great deal of unrest in the lordship of Hay in the early 1450s because of a local quarrel with the tenants of the lordship of Ewell, and in 1453-54 alone £2.6.8 was spent on repairs to three great breaches in the town walls following an attack on the town. The borough was already charged with 15s. to pay burgesses for guarding the town-gates, and the bailiff was claiming £2 in respite for money paid to James Scudamore for living

1. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m5d.

2. PRO SC6 1305/4m6; SRO D641/1/2/273m1d. The carpenter was paid by a warrant from the Receiver-General and not directly from the issues of Maxstoke manor.

3. SRO D641/1/2/216m3d.

there for two weeks in August 1451, with a garrison of thirty men for the defence and safe custody of the town against their enemies of Ewell lordship. The reeve of Hay Englishry claimed £5.0.2 for similar expenses for Sir John Scudamore, a former receiver and steward, living in the town with a garrison of sixty men.¹ The cause of the quarrel is unknown. Apart from repairs to the fabric of castles, and some fortification work at Newport Castle in the 1440s,² there is no indication on other accounts of expenses for fortifying and defending property, despite the stirrings of trouble implicit in the rivalry of Lancaster and York in the 1540s. However, it must be pointed out that in 1449-50 the Receiver-General paid for 103 lb. of gunpowder, "pro municione castri de Maxstoke".³

The final payment on manorial accounts is the "liberaciones denariorum" to the receiver or Receiver-General. This indicated the most significant, to Stafford, of his reeve's or bailiff's tasks, the payment of the surplus cash profit of the manor. The payments often included arrears of former ministers or part payment thereof, and were made at intervals during the year, according to no set timetable. Payment was apparently based on how much cash surplus was in hand when the accountant was called up by the receiver or a member of his staff. The final, and usually the largest, payment was made "super compotum", at the time of the audit, but for the other payments, receipts of tallies or indented bills signified the transaction. Apart from this last payment made in person at the time of the audit, it appears that collectors from the receiver's staff were sent out during the year to

1. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, mm.3d, 4.

2. NLW Tredegar MS 146 mm.9, 9d.; PRO SC6 924/23m.10d; SRO D641/1/2/20m5. See below, p. 207

3. SRO D641/1/2/21m7.

the various manors within the area, to collect revenue from the local officials. It was not part of the responsibilities of the local official to travel to the receiver to deliver his surplus cash except at audit time. How far it was his duty to press for arrears from former accountants is unknown. In the liberaciones denariorum, such arrears are often made by the previous accountant in person, with the present accountant taking no share in this transaction, and it may have been the task of the receiver or his staff to chase up Stafford's debtors.

It is likely that the sending out of clerks from the receiver's staff was a valuable aid to contact between the centre and the various manors, supplementing the major annual general meeting at the audit. The receiver, or a member of his staff, could take the opportunity to inspect the working of the manor at first hand, and, similarly, the manorial officials could refer their problems to him or through him to higher authority. In the Gloucester receivership, the staff of the receiver in the 1440s included a deputy-receiver and a future receiver of the area, and on the Receiver-General's staff, which was larger and incorporated members of the Household, there were the future receivers of Holderness and Cause, and a number of men who went on to hold various other offices in the administration, as bailiffs of liberties or of large manors, or as feodaries. It is likely therefore that these men were being deliberately trained in such duties by their contacts with the manors and boroughs.

After all payments and allowances had been accounted for according to the production of bills, tallies and warrants as evidences of payment, the balance of the account was struck. The neatest result was a correspondence of charge and discharge, and the accountant retired from office quit of further responsibility. Despite the problems of arrears

and the slowness and inefficiency of accountancy, involving items in respite year after year, this neat balancing of the accounts was a regular feature on many manors in Staffordshire and Warwickshire. It was not the norm, however. The picture at the end of the audit was more likely to be that the accountant was in arrears to Stafford for part of the issues of the manor. In many cases, the arrears were not all incurred in that year, and many might stretch back over a number of years. In such cases, a list of creditors, with the amount each owed, and often the reason why it was owed, was appended to the account. Liability was fairly apportioned, and no accountant was held responsible for the arrears of another. Had this not been the case, it is unlikely that any man would have been willing to take on the heavy burden of office. There was, apparently, no pressing need of money by Stafford if arrears are any indication. Where arrears remained on the account, the situation was potentially favourable to Stafford. Providing that the arrears were realizable, they represented income. There seems, however, to have been no great stringency in the matter of collecting arrears. They were, in the main, repaid, but at the debtor's own pace, and over a number of years. There is only one instance, on an English manor, of the auditor committing men to prison for arrears, at Westcombe in 1457-58.¹ The situation in Huntingdon lordship was rather less easy-going. In 1453-54, the account shows several debtors imprisoned for arrears.² Although Stafford had a name for bad lordship, especially in Brecon, imprisonment for debt apart from Huntingdon does not seem to have been a feature in this unpopularity.

The third situation which might arise after the accounts were

1. SRO D641/1/2/179m3.

2. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, mm.5d, 6, 6d.

balanced was that of a superplusage, where expenditure had exceeded income and the accountant himself had made good the difference, with Stafford in debt to him as a result. This was a reasonably uncommon occurrence on the local accounts, and the sums involved were small. They formed the first allowance on the account of the following year and nowhere is there any record of long-term overspending on the estate accounts. It was not superplusages on the accounts which indicated financial difficulties, but rather arrears made up of respited items which were unrealizable debts like decayed rents which, through administrative inefficiency, were allowed to stand in the accounts, and accumulate and secure a stranglehold on manorial economy.

CHAPTER SIX

VI

THE RECEIVERSHIP

On the Stafford estates by the fifteenth century, estate administration had evolved completely away from any dependence on the Household. Estate organization rested upon a chain of receiverships which were based on the county or a group of counties and which were, to a considerable extent, autonomous. Each received revenues from the constituent manor and borough units, bearing the costs of maintenance and other necessary local expenses and by-passing a cumbersome and slow central audit. Within each receivership, the receiver and steward, or stewards, were the principal ministers, although only the receiver rendered account and was answerable each year to the auditor. There were, within each area, constables of the castles, although in England this ^{constable-}ship was by now almost an honorary office. In Newport lordship there were officials peculiar to this lordship, the sheriff, the coroner and the approver. Only the two last-named presented accounts; constables of castles and the sheriff of Newport did not do so.

The receiverships provided a system of administration perfectly designed to provide the unity required to integrate the various estates, often scattered over the whole of England, which might be inherited or acquired by a landowner. The name and office of receiver is of uncertain origin, but seems to be from baronial rather than royal administration. Receivers are mentioned as officials on the estates of Edmund, earl of Lancaster, younger son of Henry III, in the mid-thirteenth century, and of Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln, at the end of the thirteenth

century.¹ Professor J.F. Baldwin says of Henry Lacy's administration that the receiverships corresponded generally to the Honours and lordships that were held by the family. "With the exception of the honours which were theoretically indivisible baronies, there was considerable freedom in grouping or regrouping the lands for administrative purposes."² The system of grouping estates by counties rather than lordships is found on the estates of Thomas, earl of Lancaster (executed 1322), in his receivership of Berkshire and Wiltshire.³ By the mid-fourteenth century the receivership was well established as a territorial unit, set up according to geographical and administrative convenience and bearing little or no resemblance to the old Honours, which had been essentially units of military and legal obligation. Also found on Earl Thomas's estates is a central Treasury at Kenilworth, under an official called the Receiver-General. Although the Wardrobe was still the chief financial office for both Household and estates, this official foreshadowed the later Receiver-General in receiving revenue from all parts of the estates.⁴ No trace of such an official is to be found on the estates after Earl Thomas's time, but he was to re-emerge as chief financial official of the estate administration of the Duchy of Lancaster, having won completely his independence from the Wardrobe as central receipt of the receiverships.

The House of Lancaster presented the greatest and most highly organized estate administration of the fourteenth century, not because

1. Baldwin, "Household administration of Henry de Lacy and Thomas of Lancaster," pp. 181-82.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 183; cf. Denholm-Young, Seigniorial Administration, pp. 40-1.

3. Baldwin, op. cit., p. 190.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 193. He paid over two-thirds of the revenues to the Wardrobe. There was also a local receipt at Kenilworth, under the receiver of Kenilworth: see Somerville, The Duchy of Lancaster, pp. 71-89.

it was the most advanced but because it had a longer unbroken history.¹ It is likely that its administration provided a model for the organization of the great congeries of estates which, in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were concentrated in the hands of a small number of great magnates, although the extent to which it did so is unknown. The Beauchamp² and York³ estate organizations followed the Duchy pattern, as did the Stafford administration, but the Percy⁴ and Grey of Ruthin⁵ estates did so to a much lesser extent. In general, the difference between the administrations of the great and lesser baronage was not one of kind but simply of size, according to the number of receiverships involved, and how the central administration was adapted to the supervision of the estates.

It is obvious that the Stafford administrative structure resembled closely that of the Duchy, adapting the system to meet its own needs and convenience. There were, by the mid-fifteenth century, nine local receiverships, covering the outlying counties, Yorkshire, Staffordshire, the South-West, Kent and Surrey, and the Welsh March, all of which receiverships were, to a great extent, independent units. There was also a Receiver-General, responsible for a large area of central and eastern England. He retained little of his former importance as principal treasurer of the estates, however, now having no jurisdiction over the other receiverships. His position and work, and the structure of his receivership, are described in a later chapter.

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1. Baldwin, "Household administration of Henry de Lacy and Thomas of Lancaster," p. 180.
 2. Ross, Estates and Finances of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.
 3. Rosenthal, "Estates and finances of Richard of York."
 4. Bean, Estates of the Percy Family.
 5. Jack, The Lords Grey of Ruthin.

Study of the Stafford administration from 1423 until 1460 is divided into two periods by the death of Anne, dowager countess of Stafford, in 1438. From 1423 until this date, Humfrey Stafford held the estates of his father, Earl Edmund, and of his father's brother, Hugh Stafford. His mother Anne Stafford held various estates as dowers from her two Stafford marriages, but in 1423 she surrendered her dower interest in Newport lordship to her son, to give him control over the whole lordship,¹ and it appears that where she held parts of a manor, as at Blechingley in Surrey, she farmed her interest to him, receiving her share of the annual revenues from his officials. On the Stafford estates which she held in toto, and on her own Bohun and Woodstock inheritances, she had her own administration and her own officials.

The earliest surviving account from Humfrey Stafford's estates is part of an account for Cause lordship in Shropshire. This is the final membrane of a longer roll, giving only the discharge of the Cause account, and part of a bailiff's account for Worthyn borough, for 1423-24.² The Cause part of the account is unheaded, but it is possibly the receiver's account. Stafford held two thirds of the lordship, his mother holding the remainder in dower but retaining only a financial interest in the estates. Stafford's officials administered the whole lordship and paid one third of the revenue to Anne, after deducting her one-third share of the costs and expenses. Under Earl Thomas of Stafford (d. 1392) and under Earl Edmund, Stafford's father, Cause had been a separate receivership.³ It would appear from this account that Cause still

1. SRO D641/1/2/12m1.

2. SRO D641/1/2/241. Stafford received livery of his estates in February 1423, as from 31 August 1422.

3. SRO D641/1/2/4m1; /6m8. In 1391-92, the receiver of Cause was one John Whitgreve, probably a member of the Staffordshire family which produced Thomas, Robert and Humfrey Whitgreve, all estate officials in the fifteenth century.

retained its identity as a separate receivership for there is an entry heading, "Caus Receptor", at the end of the account, although no entry of any sort has been made. However, no separate receiver is named, apart from a reference to one Thomas Marshall, "receptor Castri". He is not referred to elsewhere, however, and it is likely that he was no more than constable of the castle, for it would seem from the account that Thomas Barbour of Stafford, Stafford's Receiver-General, was acting also as receiver of Cause. He is styled both "Receiver-General" and "receiver" on this account, and, with the auditor, Henry Normanton, Cadwalader ap Owen, the deputy-steward and Thomas Marshall, he was present at the audit, held in July 1424. All the cash surplus was delivered to him as Receiver-General after the balance was struck.¹ Barbour also claimed his expenses and those of the auditor for staying in London in March while waiting for instructions from Stafford and his council, then in Stafford, on some unspecified business, and expenses for travelling to Newport lordship and around the manors of his own area in central England, for the annual audit. Claims for such expenses usually appeared on the Receiver-General's own accounts. There is no reason why they should be on this account unless the Receiver-General was also receiver of Cause.

The income of Anne Stafford from Cause for this year is given as £30.15.7 $\frac{1}{4}$, but there is no indication on the account of this being delivered to her. The livery of money to Stafford is for his share only, £57.18.1 $\frac{1}{4}$, and it seems unlikely that he was middle-man in the payment of Anne Stafford's revenues. On her own Receiver-General's account for 1430-31, the entry for Cause says that she is owed £242 from the lordship for that and the past eleven years, but that it is

1. This was the general practice under Stafford on the Staffordshire manors, where the collector was also receiver of the area. See above, p. 104.

supposed that the money has been paid directly into her own hands. The Receiver-General knew nothing of these revenues, and there is a marginal note reminding him to find out what had in fact happened to the money.¹ His account for the following year has the same entry for Cause and also a similar entry for Anne's dower lands in Staffordshire.² It is not known how long Barbour acted as receiver in Cause, but the Receiver-General's account for Stafford's lands for 1438-39 refers to one Hugh Cresset as receiver there.³

There are accounts for Stafford's receiverships in Newport for 1433-34,⁴ and in Kent and Surrey for 1428-30.⁵ John Colet, the receiver in Kent and Surrey, replaced Richard Ruyton, or Knyton, as receiver there in c.1428, and this account appears to be his first. Ruyton may perhaps have died in 1428/29 before he could present his account, which might explain the very unusual fact that Colet's account runs for two years. There are various ministers' accounts for Staffordshire for 1433-34,⁶ showing that here there was also a separate receivership. In 1423, Stafford had appointed one Hugh Stanford as receiver, replacing him c.1432/33 by Humfrey Cotes, of Cotes in Staffordshire. In effect, Stafford had revived the administrative structure of Earl Thomas, for in 1391-92 Thomas had also had receiverships in Cause, Newport, Kent and Surrey and Staffordshire, all accounting to the Receiver-General for their surplus revenue.⁷ By the 1430s Stafford's

1. SRO D641/1/2/12m1.

2. SRO D641/1/2/13m1.

3. SRO D641/1/2/15m5. He is called the former receiver, obviously having left office at the end of the financial year 1438-39.

4. Glamorgan Record Office, Cardiff, D.DC.M/45.

5. SRO D641/1/2/231.

6. SRO D641/1/2/53.

7. SRO D641/1/2/4m1.

receivers in Staffordshire, Cause and Kent and Surrey were still accounting to the Receiver-General, but the Newport receiver, Thomas Whitgreve, already accounted directly to Stafford himself, a practice which was soon to be extended to all other receiverships. Earl Thomas's receiver in Kent and Surrey is called the Tonbridge receiver, after the family's largest manor there, and John Colet, in 1428-30, is also styled "Tonbridge receiver". The later accounts of the receiver here, and all references to him on the Receiver-General's accounts, name him as receiver of Kent and Surrey. The earlier title is perhaps a relic of a much earlier organization, based on the lordship rather than the county.

Several accounts of Anne Stafford's Receiver-General survive for the years 1430-35, showing that she had receiverships in Kent and Surrey and in Brecon, and that all her other estates, which were mainly in south and central England, accounted to her Receiver-General, Thomas Laurence. During these years, her Household was based at Thornbury in Gloucestershire, and after Laurence, Receiver-General from at least 1400 until 1435,¹ retired from office, a local man, William Denys, of Dyrham in Gloucestershire, was appointed.² There was almost certainly a separate receivership for Holderness lordship in Yorkshire, although this is not mentioned on the receiver-General's account and it is likely that the receiver here, like the Brecon receiver, accounted directly to Anne Stafford. In Staffordshire, as in Cause, the estates of her dower were administered by her son's officials, who accounted to her for her share of the issues. Anne had her own receivership in Kent and Surrey,

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1. Laurence had been Receiver-General of Earl Edmund of Stafford in 1400-01 (SRO D641/1/2/6). He retired in mid-year, and presented a view of account for such monies as he had received during his period in office that year (SRO D641/1/2/14m6).
 2. There is no record of anyone of this name being retained by Stafford himself, but a William Denys was an itinerant justice of Edward, duke of Buckingham, in 1503 (SRO D641/1/4U/6).

and until 1428/29 her receiver here was Richard Ruyton who had been in office since at least 1406,¹ and who, from 1423 until 1428/9, was also her son's receiver for these two counties. After he left office, Anne replaced him by Geoffrey Young as her receiver, while Stafford chose his own receiver, one John Colet. Anne's estates here were worth about £90 per annum, and the receiver accounted through her Receiver-General. In addition, she held one third of Blechingley manor in Surrey in dower, and this she farmed to her son for £8 per annum, payable through his receiver.²

There are indications, in the years 1437-38, of a reorganization in Stafford's estate administration. This may have been inspired by the thought of his mother's likely impending death, his own inheritance of her vast estates, and a desire to have his own administration in order before facing the task of absorbing a large number of new estates. That the death of his mother in the near future was in Stafford's mind may be seen in the grant obtained from Henry VI in May 1438, that there would be no difficulty in his receiving livery of any estates which might descend to him in the future, and that they would be transferred to him piecemeal, even before all writs and inquisitions had been returned to Chancery.³ Anne died six months later, in October 1438, and Stafford was granted livery of her estates on November 1st, with the exceptions of the disputed Bohun lands at Bronllys and Cantref Selyf and Holderness. Holderness was recovered in the following August, after strenuous attempts on the part of Stafford and his council to bring this about.

The key figures in his administration were the auditor and the

1. SRO D641/1/2/7m1.

2. SRO D641/1/2/23lm2.

3. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1436-41, p. 169.

Receiver-General, and new appointments to both posts had been made between 1435 and 1437. On March 12, 1435, William Weldon of Longford, Herefordshire, had replaced the clerk, Henry Normanton of Derbyshire, as auditor "of each and every account of ministers in England and Wales".¹ Weldon was to remain in office for the rest of Stafford's lifetime. On 21 April 1437 John Heaton of Newton Blossomville, Buckinghamshire, became Receiver-General of all castles, manors and lordships in England and Wales,² in place of Thomas Barbour of Stafford, Receiver-General since c.1423.³ Heaton also was to remain in office for Stafford's lifetime and, from 1460 until 1467, served as Receiver-General to Stafford's widow, Anne, duchess of Buckingham. In both of these important offices, therefore, there was a continuity of service which was of great value in terms of stability, efficiency and loyalty. Both offices are dealt with more fully in a later chapter, but it may be suggested here that in these two appointments Stafford was moving away from a policy of recruiting officials from the Stafford heartlands of the West Midlands. Weldon of Herefordshire and Heaton of Buckinghamshire were better placed than Barbour of Stafford and Normanton of Derbyshire for the administration of the estates which, after 1438, centred more on London than on Stafford.

There are signs of reorganization in the receiverships of Newport, Stafford, Cause and Kent and Surrey at this time. Little is known of Newport at this time, for few records survive for Stafford's administration before 1446. It would appear that Thomas Whitgreve, receiver in 1434, had been replaced by 1438 by Thomas Leny,⁴ both the dates of

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1. SRO D641/1/2/15m6.
 2. SRO D641/1/2/15m1.
 3. SRO D641/1/2/241.
 4. SRO D641/1/2/15m.

Whitgreve's appointment and dismissal being however unknown. In 1435 Thomas Leny of Newport borough had been appointed approver of Wenllouk and Machan,

pur surveyourer toutez les revenuez a nous pertenauntez en nostre dit seigneuries de Wenllouk et Machan comes des courtes de Stowe, Deviles, Pencarne, Rempney, Deffryn et le hundred de ville de Neuport auxi bien pur excercere et [] regarder a nostre ceps et profyt toutz nos officers faisantz ses offices en toutz nos courtes avantditz et toutz choses en les avantditz courtes presentz par coroners bedulfes ou provostes en heriettes en chateux eschetez etc. ¹

Leny's appointment as receiver may also date from this time, January 1435. In 1444 he was confirmed in both offices and made constable of Newport for life.² Between 1441 and 1460 the receivership changed hands three times more, in contrast to other receiverships where there was a remarkable continuity of personnel, most receiverships changing hands once only. Leny died soon after Michaelmas 1446, while still in office, and was replaced by Howell Kemeys of Began in Wentloog,³ deputy-sheriff of the lordship from 1444 to 1448. Thomas Arblaster of Staffordshire, who had held the office of sheriff since at least 1434, was non-resident and the exercise of real judicial authority rested with Kemeys. He held the office of receiver for only a few weeks, however, until 6 December 1446, when his brother William Kemeys, then mayor of Newport borough, was made receiver.⁴ William Kemeys, like Thomas Leny, held also the offices of approver of the lordship and constable of Newport castle. He held these offices for nearly ten years, until 20 February 1456. His successor was Morgan ap Jankyn ap Philip,⁵ who, from his name, was

1. NLW Peniarth MS 280, p.1, no.10.

2. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo.39.

3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo.85. He was appointed receiver, "for loialte et diligence".

4. NLW Tredegar MS 146,m6d.

5. PRO SC6 924/25m10.

obviously a Welshman, rather than an English settler in the March like the Kemeys family. It was usually from these English settlers that most estate officials were drawn, in Newport as in most of the other Marcher lordships. Philip had previously, in 1452, been appointed sheriff of Newport and steward of Wentloog and Machan,¹ in succession to Henry ap Griffith who had himself replaced Arblaster in 1451. Griffith became steward in Brecon lordship. Philip apparently held the two offices of receiver and sheriff in Newport after 1456, since he was drawing the fees of both offices at Michaelmas 1457,² and he was also approver of the lordship and constable of Newport castle, a concentration of authority in the hands of one man which was unparalleled anywhere on the English estates, but which was not infrequently found in the Marcher lordships, where conditions were rather more unsettled and where strong authority was, financially, more important.

There was one other chief official in Newport, the coroner. He acted as assistant to the sheriff, doing the work done by coroner and eschaetor of an English county. He presented his own annual account to the receiver. In 1447-48 the coroner was David Kemeys the Younger,³ a nephew of the receiver William Kemeys and the deputy-sheriff Howell Kemeys. The office was held for one year only, and names for four other coroners survive and all appear to be Welsh — Treharne ap Rosser in 1433-34, Philip Guillim in 1446-47, John ap Morgan ap Thomas in 1451-52, and Jankyn ap Morgan Kemeys in 1456-57,⁴ this last perhaps being the son or some connection of Morgan Kemeys, the eldest son of the Kemeys family.

1. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 101; PRO SC6 924/24m8.

2. PRO SC6 924/24m8; /25m10d.

3. PRO SC6 924/23m6.

4. Glamorgan R.O. D.DC/M45m8; PRO SC6 924/24m5d; /25m6.

At the beginning of the financial year 1437-38 there was a reshuffle of officials in Staffordshire. It would appear that Stafford did not yet wish to dispense with the services of Thomas Barbour, his former Receiver-General, for he was returned to Stafford, his home town, as receiver of Staffordshire, while Humfrey Cotes was transferred to the Household staff, to become steward of the Household.¹ This is the only known instance of an estate official being appointed to the Household staff, but the steward seems to have been mainly responsible for the administration of the domestic side of the Household and for provisioning from the estates and elsewhere,² and it may have been thought advisable to have in this office a man who was trained in administration, and with a first-hand knowledge of the estates, during a period of reorganization and expansion in which the Household was also probably involved. The arrangement in fact lasted for only two years, until June 1439, when Barbour apparently retired.³ Cotes returned to Stafford as receiver and it would seem that no-one replaced him as Household steward.⁴ The Household organization is obscure, and it is difficult to distinguish between the functions of Treasurer and steward. It appears that the office of Treasurer was of greater importance and a new Treasurer, William Wistowe, promoted from Clerk of the Household about this time, may have combined the duties of both offices.

1. PRO SC6 988/12m6; NLW Peniarth MS 280, p. 1, no. 10.

2. Cf. Jack, The Lords Grey of Ruthin, p. 307. On the Receiver-General's account for 1438-39, the Household Steward is seen collecting monies from the estates, assigned for payment of Household expenses (SRO D641/1/2/15mm.1,2).

3. He was dead by 1441/2 (SRO D641/1/2/54m2d).

4. The Receiver-General's account for 1438-39 contains the entry, "And for £6.13s. received from Humfrey Cotes, receiver in Staffordshire, from the revenues of his office this year at the hands of Humfrey Cotes, former Steward of the Household, for Household expenses" (SRO D641/1/2/15m1).

Humfrey Cotes returned to Stafford as receiver of Stafford, and he also became receiver of Cause. The two receiverships remained separate units, however, Cotes returning separate accounts for each. The reason for uniting the two offices under one man is unknown, although geographically it was quite convenient. Cause had already been held in conjunction with another receivership earlier in Stafford's administration when the Receiver-General had acted as its receiver.¹ The arrangement was not permanent, for some time in the financial year 1444-45 Cotes was replaced as receiver in Cause. The Receiver-General's entry for Cause for that year is in the names of Humfrey Cotes "receptoris" and John Witherton "vicissem receptoris".² Witherton was a clerk, "nostre bien ame chappellan",³ and had previously held the Stafford livings of Chipstead (c.1441) and Tilbroke (October 1442).⁴ He was one of the few clerks to be employed on the Stafford estates, the others being Henry Normanton, an auditor, and Richard Lacy, a receiver at Holderness. Witherton was still in office in Cause in 1456-57, and may have remained there until Stafford's death in 1460.

Cotes himself remained as receiver in Stafford until Michaelmas 1449, and from October 1445 he was granted an allowance equivalent to the sum he had received as his fee as receiver of Cause.⁵ He was replaced at Stafford by Sir Roger Draycote of Paynsley.⁶ Draycote was still in office in 1460, but was replaced shortly afterwards by John Burton, a former clerk of the Household, perhaps because of his Lancastrian sympathies.⁷ The second office in importance in a receivership,

1. Above, pp. 164-65.

2. SRO D641/1/2/18m5.

3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 74.

4. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fos. 40, 44.

5. SRO D641/1/2/56m11.

6. SRO D641/1/2/20m3.

7. See below, pp. 334-336, for discussion of the political sympathies, as far as they can be detected, of Stafford's officials and retainers.

that of steward, was held in Staffordshire by Hugh Erdeswick of Sandon,¹ who from at least 1437 is styled Chief Steward. He may have been appointed well before 1437, for the date of his appointment is unknown. Payment of his fee ceased at Easter 1451, and no payment was authorized to any steward as his successor, although courts were obviously being held. The duties of the office seem to have been performed by Robert Clerk who, in October 1439, had been appointed clerk of the courts of Staffordshire and Warwickshire.² The account for Darlaston manor for 1454-55 mentions Clerk by name under the heading of Steward's Expenses,³ and he is found renewing rentals of manors, another of the steward's duties. He continued to receive only his fee as Clerk of the Courts, however, and not the fee of steward of the county. Cause retained its own steward throughout the period of Cotes' receivership. William Burley of Bromscroft, Shropshire, was steward in 1441-42,⁴ and from March 1447 the steward was John Burgh of Wattlesborough and Cause, a Stafford retainer since at least 1441.⁵ A deputy steward was also retained by Stafford in this receivership. In 1447 this was a Welshman, Madoc ap Cadwalader.

The appointment of a new receiver in Kent and Surrey was made in May 1439, seven months after Stafford had inherited his mother's estates here. These increased his own holdings in these counties considerably. Anne Stafford's receivership disappeared entirely. John Colet, Stafford's receiver here since c.1428, like Cotes and Draycote in Staffordshire, and like all the Newport receivers, was a local man and

1. PRO SC6 988/12m10d.

2. SRO D641/1/2/54m9. He had been a member of the Household, as a valet (SRO D641/1/2/15m6).

3. SRO D641/1/2/59m7.

4. SRO D641/1/2/17m2d.

5. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 88; SRO D641/1/2/17m3d.

the farmer of Stafford's manor of Pympe in Kent. He must have died at about this time, for in the Redd Book of Caus are to be found several acquittances to his wife Rose, for arrears on her husband's account.¹ The new appointment in Kent and Surrey was made from outside the area, the receiver being William Hexstall of Milwich and Hexstall in Staffordshire,² appointed on 28 May 1439. Until at least 1437, Hexstall had been pursuing an active political career in Staffordshire, and there are only slight traces of any previous connection with Kent and Surrey. Within a few years of his appointment, however, he was making for himself a career in local affairs in Kent, and he remained in office there until Stafford's death. Three of his brothers moved south with, or shortly after, William Hexstall, to hold office in Stafford's service, Thomas Hexstall becoming receiver in Dover in 1450/1. The careers of the Hexstalls are discussed more fully in a following chapter, dealing with the origins and local influence of Stafford's servants.³ There were separate stewardships for Kent and Surrey. From 1450, the steward in Kent was Robert Brown,⁴ also a Staffordshire man, but from what is known of the other holders of the offices in Kent and Surrey, local men were chosen.

The inheritance of Anne Stafford's estates in 1438 meant that an expansion of the administration, and a certain amount of reorganization, were to be necessary. There is no indication in the records which survive to suggest that this was effected other than smoothly and easily. There was no attempt to maintain the Bohun inheritance as a separate entity, or to retain any part of the separate administration

1. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fos. 29, 30, 38, 39, 47, 52.

2. SRO D641/1/2/233m1.

3. Below, pp. 321-323.

4. SRO D641/1/2/234m2.

of Anne Stafford's estates in areas where Stafford had his own administrative machinery. In central England, the Bohun and Woodstock estates and the Stafford dower lands were absorbed mainly into the Receiver-General's area, and into the receiverships of Cause and Stafford. Anne's Receiver-General's area disappeared, as did her receivership in Kent and Surrey, where her lands became part of Stafford's receivership there under William Hexstall.

Stafford took over his mother's receivership in Brecon, which included Brecon lordship itself, and the lordships of Hay and Huntingdon. It is unknown whether he retained the organization and personnel unchanged as there are no contemporary records, but it would seem likely that he did so for at least the early years of his rule there, as he had few contacts of his own in these lordships. The area is not included as a receivership answerable to the Receiver-General in 1438-39, and in fact does not appear on the account at all, apart from references to a messenger sent by the Receiver-General to Brecon to collect money from the receiver there, in order that he might take it to Stafford, then in Calais as a royal ambassador.¹ This was in the summer of 1439, and it may be that Stafford took his time in establishing his administration in Brecon on a sound basis in the first few months after his mother's death. By 1441 his receiver in Brecon was John Joyce of Hanchurch in Staffordshire, who had been a commissioner in Brecon in January 1440.² His origin suggests that he was Stafford's own appointee rather than an official of Anne Stafford's, though the date of his entry into Stafford's service is unknown. His son, Thomas Joyce, was paid a fee of 20s. by Stafford as receiver in Huntingdon in

1. SRO D641/1/2/15m7.

2. SRO D641/1/2/17m2d; NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 55.

1447-48,¹ but this is the only reference to a separate receivership here and Thomas was probably acting as no more than his father's deputy. As in Newport receivership, the receiver of Brecon held also the office of constable of the castle there, and there were also constables for the castles of Hay and Huntingdon. The office was of little military importance in England by this time, and was mainly an honorific post, but the Marcher castles still retained their importance and it was probably thought necessary to have resident officials. In the 1440s, Stafford was carrying out large-scale repairs at Newport Castle, and renovating it as a fortress,² and in 1444 Cause Castle was garrisoned during the rebellion of Sir Griffith Vaughn, a Stafford retainer, who had killed a son of the earl of Shrewsbury and been outlawed for murder.³ There is no evidence that the castles played any part in military operations in the March before 1460 however. Troubles there were more likely to be endemic local feuds, such as that which flared up between the lordships of Hay and Ewell in the early 1450s.⁴

John Joyce became steward and receiver of Talgarth on its acquisition in 1441, and joint-steward of Hay in 1444.⁵ He remained receiver of Brecon until 1449 when Sir John Scudamore of Ewyas-Lacy and Kentchurch, already steward of Brecon since 1445, is found accounting as receiver there.⁶ He remained receiver only until January 1451, and steward only until December of the same year, being replaced as receiver by Thomas Vaughn of Hergest⁷ and as steward by Henry ap Griffith.⁸ Griffith

1. Longleat MS 6411.

2. NLW Tredegar MS 146mm9, 9d; PRO SC6 924/23m10d.

3. VCH Shropshire, Vol. 8, p. 309.

4. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, mm3d, 4.

5. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fos. 34, 73.

6. SRO D641/1/2/2Qm1; NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 81.

7. PRO SC6 1305/4m4.

8. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 101; CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m7d.

became steward of Brecon while still occupying the offices of sheriff of Newport and steward of Wentloog and Machan, but relinquished these offices in October 1452 to Morgan ap Jankyn Philip.

From 1441, when it was acquired from Lord Berkeley, Talgarth manor was administered as a part of Brecon receivership. On the Receiver-General's account, an entry is always made of a receivership of Cantref Selyf and Bronllys and Talgarth. Cantref Selyf and Bronllys were the disputed Bohun lands, expressly reserved from the grant of livery to Stafford of November 1438. They were never part of a Stafford receivership, as Stafford did not hold the lands themselves but only received half the annual farm of the land, delivered to him by the royal nominees who had custody of the lands. The "receivership" first appears on the Receiver-General's account for 1444-45, when Walter Scull is named as receiver. His name appears on all subsequent surviving Receiver-General's accounts until that of 1456-57, when Thomas Vaughn, Stafford's receiver in Brecon, is named.¹ The entry on the Receiver-General's account is probably an example of a set entry being copied from one account to the next, and of the same mistake being perpetuated.

It is likely that Stafford took over the administration of his mother's receivership of Holderness as it existed in 1438, although it had been taken into the king's hands for nine months before he obtained seisin in August 1438. The royal receiver, appointed on 24 October 1438, was Robert Rolleston, Keeper of the Royal Wardrobe. In December 1440 he was ordered to account to Stafford for the issues of the lordship for the time it had been administered by royal officials.² By 1441, Stafford's receiver in Holderness was Richard Lacy,³ of whom

1. SRO D641/1/2/18m5; /23m6.

2. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1436-41, p. 204.

3. SRO D641/1/2/17m2d.

little is known apart from the fact that he was a clerk and probably a member of a local family, since a William Lacy had been appointed coroner and bailiff of the liberty of Holderness when the lordship had come into royal hands following the death of the duke of Clarence.¹ Lacy remained in office until 1450/1, when he was replaced by William Roche,² who was in turn replaced by Robert Twyer in 1451.³ Twyer had been coroner in Holderness. He was almost certainly a local man of some standing, for this family had long been prominent in Yorkshire, a William de la Twyer of Holderness having been sheriff there for Isabelle de Fortibus, countess of Aumale from 1263-66, and a Robert Twyer of Holderness served as member for the county of York in 1354.⁴ Very little is known of these local Yorkshire officials or of their careers, for there are very few surviving records for Holderness. The one steward mentioned by name was Sir John Constable of Halsham and Burton Constable, who was steward in 1447-48, and who died c.1450.⁵ Holderness differed from the other receiverships in this period, in that it had its own auditor, probably because of the isolation and distance of the lordship from the main bulk of the estates. In 1441 the auditor was John Lathbury; in 1447, Thomas Rogers was appointed.⁶ This man was mentioned in a note on an account for the Stafford receiver where, in December 1438, he is mentioned as renewing a rental for Norton manor.⁷ He was from Watton, in Yorkshire, and in 1457 he achieved some

1. PRO SC6 1084/1m1.

2. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 103.

3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fos. 108, 114.

4. Denholm-Young, Seigneurial Administration, p. 47; A. Gooder, Parliamentary Representation in the County of York, 1251-1832, Vol. I (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, XCI, 1935), p. 109.

5. SRO D641/1/2/19m1; Wedgwood, Biographies, pp. 211-12.

6. SRO D641/1/2/17m2d; NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 90.

7. SRO D641/1/2/57m8d.

degree of promotion, being associated more closely with Weldon, the senior auditor. He took over Weldon's duties in the receiverships of Kent and Surrey and of Gloucestershire and the South-West, while probably also remaining auditor in Holderness.¹

The situation on the estates in the South-West after Anne Stafford's death appears to have been more complicated than it was in either Brecon or Holderness. Before 1438, Stafford held only the manors of Eastington and Alkerton in Gloucestershire and Callington in Cornwall in this south-western area, and all three manors accounted to his Receiver-General. Anne Stafford however held a large number of manors in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire which were administered by her Receiver-General from Thornbury in Gloucestershire. To incorporate all the newly acquired estates into the area under Stafford's Receiver-General would have been to create an unmanageably large administrative area. A new receivership was therefore set up, consisting of all the Stafford manors in the counties of Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Hampshire. For some reason, Callington in Cornwall was not included in the new receivership, but continued to be accountable to the Receiver-General. On the Receiver-General's account the accountant of the manor is sometimes referred to as the receiver, but it is obvious that it did not constitute a receivership in the same sense as the others. There was no place in Stafford's administration for William Denys, his mother's Receiver-General, but his new administrative area was organized round a number of men who had been retained by his mother.

On February 16, 1439, the new receiver and steward were appointed. The receiver was Nicholas Poyntz, retained by Anne Stafford since at least 1430-31,² son of Robert Poyntz, her steward in Gloucestershire.

1. SRO D641/1/2/23m6.

2. SRO D641/1/2/12m1.

Poyntz was also made parker of Eastwood Park,¹ an office which he retained until his death in September 1460, although he was replaced as receiver in 1454. Poyntz is the only receiver for whom there is evidence of an official deputy-receiver. Until c.1445, this was John Woodford,² and thereafter Thomas Berkeley, who appears to have acted as deputy-receiver, although he is not styled as such as Woodford was. It was Berkeley who succeeded Poyntz as receiver,³ remaining in office until just after Stafford's death when Anne, duchess of Buckingham, appointed John Poyntz, Nicholas' son, to succeed him.⁴ John Poyntz had already been appointed to his father's other office, that of parker of Eastwood.

The steward of the new receivership, appointed on the same day as Poyntz, was Thomas Mille of Harescombe in Gloucestershire, who was also made parker of Haresfield manor.⁵ He had previously been Anne Stafford's steward for her dower lands in Gloucestershire.⁶ He held office under Stafford for the rest of Stafford's life, and in 1455 his son William was associated with him as parker.⁷ Both died at about the same time, early in 1461, Thomas Mille being replaced as steward on March 22, 1461, by Sir William Berkeley⁸ (either a member of the family of Berkeley of Berkeley Castle or of Berkeley of Beverstone). The counties of Wiltshire and Hampshire had their own stewards, and also their own feodaries. For a time John Stourton, created Lord Stourton in 1448, was steward in

1. SRO D641/1/2/167mm8, 8d.

2. SRO D641/1/2/170ml0d, "deputatis predicti receptoris".

3. PRO SC6 1117/9m8d.

4. SRO D641/1/2/181m8d.

5. SRO D641/1/2/167m8d.

6. SRO D641/1/2/164mm2d, 5.

7. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 113. William Mille was a member of the Household in 1456-57 (SRO D641/1/2/23m6).

8. SRO D641/1/2/181m8.

Wiltshire,¹ and Sir Thomas Uvedale, of Wickham in Hampshire, was her steward for his lands in Hampshire.²

On February 17, 1439, John Andreux, a lawyer from Southam, Gloucestershire, was appointed bailiff of the Honours of Gloucester and Hereford in Gloucestershire. His appointment has already been mentioned in the chapter dealing with the manorial officers, but it may be added here that he had been Anne Stafford's attorney-general in the lawcourts of Westminster from 1431, and he was also acting as her feodary in Gloucestershire in 1437.³ His annuity of ten marks from Anne Stafford was renewed by Stafford's warrant in November 1439.⁴ He remained bailiff of Gloucester Honour until his death in early 1460, but was replaced as bailiff of Hereford Honour in 1450-51 by John Arthur. He usually performed the duties of both offices by deputies, who included both John Arthur and the future receiver, Thomas Berkeley, and in 1458-59 one Hugh Andreux, possibly his son, was acting as his deputy.⁵ He was succeeded as bailiff of Gloucester Honour by Richard Clayville, collector of rents at Eastington and Alkerton manors since at least 1438. Clayville held the office of bailiff of the Honour for the remainder of the year only, however, and was succeeded by Roger Kemeys of Siston, Gloucestershire.⁶

It is a feature of the Stafford administration at this level that there was a strong tradition of family service, and close connections and inter-marriage between the various officials of an area. This was perhaps inevitable, as most officials were drawn from the same small

1. PRO SC6 1117/8m4d.

2. SRO D641/1/2/216mm.1, 1d.

3. SRO D641/1/2/13m4; NLW Peniarth MS 280, p. 3, no. 15.

4. SRO D641/1/2/167m9.

5. SRO D641/1/2/180m3.

6. PRO SC6 1117/10m8; SRO D641/1/2/181m8.

social class, but it is especially striking in the receivership of Gloucester. This point will be discussed more fully in a later chapter.

Stafford established the last of his receiverships in Dover in 1450, after his appointment as Constable of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports. When he first took up his duties, the receiver was, apparently, Thomas Towke,¹ but by 1454-55, and probably earlier, the receiver there was Thomas Hexstall, brother of the Kent and Surrey receiver, who held the office of Keeper of the Artillery of Dover Castle also.² Stafford performed his own duties as Constable by deputy, his Lieutenant. By October 1452 the Lieutenant was Richard Witherton, a retainer since at least 1441,³ and from May 1457 Sir Thomas Kyriell, a veteran of the wars in France, held the office. He was appointed "*pro eius laudabili servicio eidem domino multipliciter impenso et impendendo*". A condition of his tenure of office was that he must reside "*in propria persona sua*" in Dover for the safe custody of the castle.⁴ In June 1460 Kyriell and three captains, including his son-in-law, went over to the Earls when they landed in Kent from Calais. There was a large staff at the castle which, in addition to the Lieutenant, included the chaplain, the steward, the bodar, the marshall, the Keepers of the Dungeon and the Artillery, four janitors at the castle gates, twelve watchmen, two chief watchmen, a carpenter and a plumber, all of whom remain nameless on the accounts, apart from John Greenford, the steward, John Brand, bodar, Edward Maudby, the marshall, Thomas Towke, Keeper of the Dungeon and Thomas Hexstall, Keeper of the Artillery in 1459-60.⁵

1. SRO D641/1/2/22m7.

2. SRO D641/1/2/22m7; /238ml.

3. SRO D641/1/2/17m3d; /236ml.

4. SRO D641/1/2/238ml.

5. Ibid.

For each receivership, there was an administrative centre, usually a castle, as at Stafford, Cause, Maxstoke, Newport and Brecon, but sometimes the chief manor, like Thornbury or Burstwick in Holderness, served this purpose. Where a receivership consisted of more than one county, each county had a centre to which the auditor, accompanied by the receiver, would travel for the audit, but there was only one main administrative headquarters for each receivership. Arrangements in the Receiver-General's area were slightly different, and will be dealt with in a later chapter. The receiver and his staff worked from the official headquarters, but the office does not seem to have been a full-time one, and the receiver did not normally reside in the castle or manor. He travelled there from his home to transact Stafford's business whenever necessary, and if this entailed a long journey and an overnight stay, he could claim his daily expenses, set at a specific sum. For the rest of the time the castle or manor would be tenanted only by the constable or janitor or the keeper of the manor, unless the Household itself was in residence. The office of constable in England was of mainly honorary importance, sometimes being held as a sinecure or in conjunction with another office. William Hastings, a rising young Yorkist squire, the King's Chamberlain and Lord Hastings from 1461, was appointed constable of Oakham Castle for life by Anne, duchess of Buckingham, in 1461.¹ A former constable of the same castle had been William Heaton, steward of Nottinghamshire and Rutland.² It was apparently felt that there was no need for a constable at Stafford Castle, but only a keeper, Richard Donne, who was also Provisor and Avenator of the manor.³ As has already been mentioned, the Marcher castles retained for longer their military

1. PRO SC6 1117/11m4.

2. SRO D641/1/2/17m2d.

3. PRO SC6 988/12m1; SRO D641/1/2/56m1.

significance.

Stafford himself appointed all receivers, stewards and constables within his receiverships, and all such offices were held during pleasure only. The letters patent of a receiver followed generally the pattern of these, appointing Thomas Vaughan receiver of Brecon in 1451:-

Humfrey etc. To all those yat thiese our lettres patent shall here or see, greting. be it knowen yat we trusting in ye feith trouth and circumspection of our trusti and welbeloved servaunt Thomas Vaughan, esquire, have ordayned and depute him to be our receivour of our lordship of Brecon, Hay, Huntyndon and Talgarth in Wales with all ye membres of ye issues profitz and revenues et appurtenaunces to ye said lordship appertayning to have and occupy ye same as long as it shall please us, taking the fees and wages with other commodities and profitz to ye said office accustomed yeelding to us yerely before our auditor theire a dutie and lawful accompt of all ye said revenues, yivinge in charge to our officers tenauntes and residants of ye same lordship to be assisting and helping ye said Thomas as it behoveth.¹

Letters patent of appointment could be in English, French or Latin. Those of Thomas Arblaster, appointing him steward of Atherstone manor in Warwickshire, are in French:-

Humfrey, count de Hereford, Buk, Stafford Northampton, Perche et Seigneur de Brekenoc, a toutz ceux qui cestes nos lettres patentes verront ou orront salutz. Sachiez nous confiantz en la loialte et circonnispeccion de nostre bien ame Thome Arblaster luys avons depute constitut et assigne nostre seneschall de toutz nos terres et tenementz, rentz et services ove toutz lour apportenances en Atherston en le counte de Warrewyk a avoir et tenier occuper et excercer mesme la office en toutz poyntz com sil office du Seneschall appartient, preignant de nous pur le dit office affair quaraunt soudz par an per les maignes nostre Receivour, Bailly, fermour ou autre nostre ministre illoeques quiconque pur le temps esteantz. Et donons et grantons au dit Thomas plein poiar et auctorite par icestes le dit office en toutz poyntz occuper et excercer. Et le ditz terres et tenementes, rentes et services ove toutz lour appurtenances a nostre oeps et profit gouverner donantz auxi et chargeantz a toutz nos officiers, baillifs, provostes et tenants et a toutz autres nos officiers illoeques ac queux il appartient et a chescun de eux que audit Thomas usant et excerceantz son dit office vient attendantz obeiceantz et respoignaantz. En tesmoignante du quele chose a icestes nos lettres patentz adviers si nostre volunte nous avons fait mettre nostre sealle. Donnez a Loundre le quinzisme iour de May lan du Regne le Roy Henry sisme puis le conquest sessiesme.²

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1. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 104.
 2. SRO D641/1/2/169mld.

The one major office which Stafford did not control directly was that of Coroner of Wentloog, which was an annual appointment. T.B. Pugh suggests that the coroner was elected by the suitors of the county court, who presented three candidates, one of whom was chosen by Stafford's sheriff of Newport.¹ In 1453-54 the tenants and residents of Wentloog paid £100 for the right of changing the system of choosing a coroner, but the method chosen is not described on the account.²

Stafford was either a good judge of the men who would serve him long and well, or else he had a great dislike of change, for most of the men appointed by him remained in office for long periods, sometimes decades. He had only two auditors and two Receiver-Generals in the period between 1423 and 1460, and he was equally fortunate in the officials who served him in his receiverships. It would seem that unless actually stated to the contrary, the officials were expected to serve in person, and most appear to have done so. Henry Griffith, appointed sheriff of Newport in 1451, was allowed to occupy his office "per se aut per sufficientem locum-tenentem",³ but it is unknown whether he served by deputy. Morgan ap Jankin Philip's indenture as sheriff of Newport in October 1452 states that while he was in office he should allow no lieutenant or deputy to perform the duties of his office, or of any other office, without the advice and agreement of Stafford himself.⁴ John Andreux was allowed to hold his offices as bailiff of the Honours of Gloucester and Hereford in Gloucestershire in person or by deputies.⁵

1. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, p. 19 n. 2.

2. SRO D641/1/2/22m1.

3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 101.

4. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 110.

5. SRO D641/1/2/169m1d.

This may imply that he was free to choose his own men whose fees, it seems, had to be met out of his own fees for the offices. In fact, Andreux always performed the duties of his offices and presented his accounts by deputies.

It would appear that it was usual for Thomas Arblaster, as sheriff of Newport, to have a deputy in the lordship. In 1444, this led to a slight administrative muddle. Stafford approved the appointment of Howell Kemeys of Began as deputy-sheriff for a four-year term, before the end of the term of the then holder of the office, Morgan ap Rosser. He then had to obtain from Rosser an agreement that he would allow himself to be superseded by Kemeys and he wrote to inform his receiver in Newport of the fact. He explained the new appointment by saying that he did not know that Rosser's term had not yet ended as he had not had his own copy of Rosser's indenture at hand at the time, but that as Rosser had agreed to leave office, his indenture was to be cancelled in the Chancery at Newport and his sureties discharged. At the same time he wrote to Rosser, thanking him for his cooperation and adding that Howell Kemeys should be allowed to hold the next shire court without hindrance, "whereupon we have direct oure lettres especially to our resceivour there for yat cause, and anything yat we moure do for you in oure good lordship in all yat reson woll, ye shall finde it redy at all tymes."¹ In fact, Stafford was probably thinking to recover his position in respect of the profits of his courts in Newport which had been, and were still, declining. Kemeys promised in his indenture to make the next sessions held in the lordship worth 100 marks, and to increase the revenue of all courts, casual revenue and the pannage of Machan Forest to 500 marks for each year of his term. He also undertook

1. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 34.

to find thirty new tenants for the lordship, and to raise a donum of £40 to give to Stafford's wife.¹ Kemeys' appointment and the premature dismissal of Rosser perhaps had a stronger financial motive than his letters to his receiver and to Rosser would suggest. In effect, Kemeys was only able to find about two-thirds of the profits of the courts promised in his indenture.

On the appointment of a new official, Stafford sent out letters announcing the fact and calling for cooperation from his ministers and tenants, as can be seen in the letters patent of Arblaster and Vaughn.² The appointment of Henry ap Griffith as steward of Brecon in 1452 was accompanied by this letter:-

A command to all officers, ministers, tenaunts and resideantz of our said castells, tounes and lordships that they to ye seid Henry doing duty in his seid office be attendant, obeissant, assisting and counceilling in althings.²

It seems that he also sent letters of dismissal to his outgoing officials, similar to that sent to Rosser in Newport in 1444, barring them from further exercise of their duties in his name. A letter to Sir John Scudamore, Griffith's predecessor as steward in Brecon, survives, to this effect:-

To our trusti and welbeloved Sir John Scudamour, kt., greting. Forasmuch as by ye advice of our lerned counsell we have made our trusti etc. Henry Griffith escuier to be our Stuard of our castelles tounes and lordships of Brecon Huntingdon and Hay with there membres and appurtenances in Wales and ye Marche there for which cause we discharge you and exclude from all maner things that to ye seid office in any wise appertaineth.³

It seems to have been the practice, in the Stafford Marcher lordships at least, for receiver, steward and other officials to be bound by recognizances as a guarantee of good conduct. It has already been noted that on Morgan ap Rosser's retirement from office, the receiver

1. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 33.

2. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 106.

3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 107.

was instructed to discharge his sureties. In the indenture of Howell Kemeys, his successor as deputy-sheriff, he was bound to Stafford in a surety of £100 which he would forfeit for any offence committed by him in office, or for default of payment. Thomas Vaughn, on his appointment as receiver in Brecon, was bound in much heavier recognizances. He was required to find up to eight freeholders of land in England who would stand surety for him for a sum of 2000 marks each, and at least six others who would be bound jointly or severally in a further sum of 2000 marks at Brecon Exchequer.¹ There is no evidence that officials on the English estates were likewise bound to find sureties, although there is one reference to a bailiff at Tonbridge finding sureties for payment of his arrears.²

The usual conditions laid on Stafford's receivers were that they should collect all revenues due to Stafford, meet all costs on the receivership and "answer for and render faithful account for each and every penny received by him in office every year", before the auditor.³ Vaughn, as receiver of Brecon, undertook not only to find sureties but "to doe his devoir with help and succour of his kynne and frends to levy and receive all maner dutieties for to be dutie during ye tyme that he shal occupie ye said office as well on ye town as in ye countie and lordship above-said, as wel ye arrerages etc. in the times of John Joyce esquier and John Scudamore, knight, Receivers, as of his tyme".⁴

The receivers paid their own fees and those of the other chief officials of the receivership on their own accounts.⁵ The fees paid by

1. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 104.

2. SRO D641/1/2/19m6.

3. From the letters patent of Thomas Berkeley, receiver of Gloucester (PRO SC6 1117/9m8d).

4. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 104.

5. On the dorse of the valors for 1441-42 and 1447-48, there are given lists of annuities and fees paid to officials. Unless otherwise stated, these documents are quoted here (SRO D641/1/2/17; Longleat MS 6411).

Stafford to his officials were, in general, in line with those paid by his contemporaries to their officials, although sometimes at a slightly lower rate.¹ In most cases, the fees were the same at the end of his life as those paid by him on the first surviving accounts for his lands. Until 1444, the Receiver-General himself received only £6.13.4 per annum, but in that year he was granted an additional allowance of £3.6.4, bringing his fee to £10 per annum.² The receivers of Brecon and Stafford also received £6.13.4 per annum, although by 1447 the Brecon receiver's fee had been increased to £10. Between 1439 and 1445 Humfrey Cotes, receiver of Stafford and Cause, was drawing the fees of both receiverships, £6.13.4 for Stafford and £3.6.4 for Cause. After 1445 the £3.6.8 fee for Cause went to the new receiver, John Witherton, but Cotes was allowed to draw an extra allowance from Stafford of £3.6.8,

quod dominus voluit quod non obstante quod dominus exoneravit
prefatum computantem de officio receptoris de Caus pro quo percepit
annuatim quinque marcas a tempore exoneracionis sui predicti
quousque idem Auditor alliter habuit ex parte domini in mandatum.³

The receivers of Kent and Surrey and of Holderness each received £5 per annum. The receiver of Newport received £3.6.8 but was also constable of the castle, for which he was allowed a further £3.6.8, and approver of the lordship at £3.0.8 per annum, a total of £9.14s.⁴ Nicholas Poyntz' fee of £6.13.4 while receiver of Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Hampshire would seem to have been a personal annuity and not

1. Cf. Rosenthal, "Estates and finances of Richard of York," pp. 170-1. York paid his receivers £6, his auditor £4, his chief auditor £21.6.8. Somerville (*The Duchy of Lancaster*, p. 119) gives the fee of a Duchy steward as £2.-£20 per annum, and the daily allowance of the Receiver-General as 6s.8d., the auditor 4s.

2. SRO D641/1/2/21m9.

3. SRO D641/1/2/56m11.

4. PRO SC6 924/23m10.

attached especially to his office, for when he retired in 1453, Stafford continued to pay his £6.13.4 fee each year, although when other receivers left office, no further payments to them are recorded on the accounts as pension or annuity. Poyntz' successor as Gloucester receiver was allowed only £5 per annum as his fee.¹

There was a much greater variation in the fees paid to the stewards, the highest fees, of £20 per annum, being paid to the stewards of Holderness and Brecon, Stafford's most valuable lordships. The fee of £20 in Brecon was paid only after 1451, to Henry ap Griffith;² John Scudamore, his predecessor, had received only twenty marks, the fee paid to the sheriff of Newport, another valuable lordship. Thomas Mille's fee of £6.13.4 as steward in Gloucestershire, like that of the receiver, seems to have been a personal annuity rather than an official fee. Both are included in the list of payments as annuities rather than as fees on the dorse of the valors of 1441-42 and 1447-48. There were separate stewardships for the counties of Hampshire and Wiltshire within the Gloucestershire receivership, the stewards receiving £2 and £5 respectively. There were also stewards for each of the counties of Kent and Surrey, which formed one receivership, and these officials received £2.6.8 and £1.6.8 each. The steward of the manor of Callington in Cornwall was the lowest-paid, at 13s.4d. per annum. Clerks of the courts, in counties where they were appointed, seem to have been paid at the rate of £2.13.4 per annum, and although Hugh Erdeswick as steward in Staffordshire had received £3.6.8 per annum, Roger Clerk, Clerk of the Courts of Staffordshire and Warwickshire, who took over Erdeswick's duties as steward after 1451, received no extra remuneration above his £2.13.4 per annum.

1. PRO SC6 1117/9m8d.

2. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m7d.

There seems to have been a fixed rate of £3.0.8d per annum for the castle janitors, but again, fees for the constables of the castles varied. As the Marcher castles were still of importance in a military sense, the constables received a higher fee, £6.13.4 to the constables of Brecon and Huntingdon Castles, £4.13.4 to the constable of Hay and £5 to the constable of Cause Castle. The office of constable of Oakham Castle, which often went as a sinecure to a favoured retainer, was also worth £6.13.4 per annum. The coroner of Wentloog did not receive any fee on his own account, although this probably was an office of profit. As in Glamorgan, it is likely that the coroner maintained himself by levying an aid amongst the tenants. The Dover receiver did not receive any fee on his own account either, although most of the issues of the receivership were devoted to the fees of the staff of the castle, from the Lieutenant at £40 per annum to the twelve watchmen at £3.0.8d per annum each.

The Receiver-General, the auditor and some of the receivers were allowed to claim daily expenses on their accounts for their travelling on Stafford's business round their area, and elsewhere, each year. The Receiver-General and auditor could both claim 3s.4d. per day, the Gloucester and probably the other receivers could claim 2s. per day each, while members of their staffs, when travelling on official business, received 8d. per day. The Gloucester receiver is the only one, apart from the Receiver-General and auditor, who regularly claimed travelling expenses, but we know from the Stafford records that 2s. was also the official rate in the receivership of Holderness until c.1454, when a warrant was sent to William Weldon, the auditor, "to allow Robert Twier our Receiver of our lordship of Holderness in his account 8d. by ye day sithence he hath ben our officer over 2s. bi ye day by you allowed to him of especiall grace granted him".¹ It is interesting,

1. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 114.

but puzzling, to note that this instruction was sent to Weldon and not to Thomas Rogers who, in 1447, had been appointed auditor in Holderness. It may suggest that Rogers was subordinate to Weldon rather than a joint-auditor. There is no evidence of any such daily expenses being allowed to other receivers although they were paid for journeys taken on Stafford's affairs. Such expenses were allowed as foreign or miscellaneous expenses; they do not seem to have been allowed as daily expenses for the ordinary daily business of the receiver around his area. It may be that the Gloucester and Holderness receivers and the Receiver-General had large areas to administer, necessitating longer journeys, both of time and distance, while the other receiverships were smaller and more compact.

The question of promotion prospects among the local officials has been touched upon in a previous chapter. Clerks of the Household or on the staff of the receivers would seem to have gained their training and experience of estate affairs there and could be promoted to office in the estate administration. Thomas Berkeley, on the staff of the Gloucester receiver, himself became receiver there, and two members of the Receiver-General's staff became receivers under Stafford's widow: John Burton in Staffordshire and Gilbert Standish in Holderness. Perhaps the period dealt with here is too short, and the evidence insufficient to deal with the questions of promotion properly, but it would seem that, apart from the staff of a receivership, there was no regular channel of advancement whereby a bailiff of a manor could advance to a more responsible position. In fact, there is only one such case to be discovered on Stafford's accounts, that of Richard Clayville, collector of Eastington and Alkerton manors in Gloucestershire, who was made bailiff of the Honour of Gloucester in succession to John Andreux. This, however, was only a standby arrangement designed to last for no

more than a few months.¹ A receiver was as likely to be appointed from outside the administration as from within it, like Roger Draycote in Staffordshire, though it is often difficult to trace the beginnings of the relationship between Stafford and many of his officials. Apart from Humfrey Cotes' two years as Steward of the Household before he returned to his receivership in Stafford, there is no evidence of a line of promotion from estate administration to Household, although, as has been mentioned, there was some traffic in the other direction, the most notable example being the appointment of John Witherton, Stafford's chaplain, as receiver of Cause in 1445. The question of the origins and usefulness of Stafford's officials is discussed more fully in a later chapter, together with their prospects of advancement outwith Stafford's service rather than within it.

1. PRO SC6 1117/10m8; SRO D641/1/2/181m8.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VII

WORK IN THE RECEIVERSHIPS

There were three main constituent elements in the work done by the officials of the receivership. The first and perhaps the most important was the collection of the surplus revenue from the various financial units of the area after all local costs had been met. The officials then had to meet the costs of their own area for administration, maintenance and such items as were assigned by Stafford on the revenues of a particular receivership, with any surplus then forwarded to Stafford's own privy coffers. It is this aspect of the work of the officials which is dealt with in this chapter. The third aspect of the work which the receivers and stewards could be called upon to perform covers a great variety of tasks, from supervising repairs to travelling on the lord's business, work incumbent upon them as counsellors in Stafford's retinue. This work will be dealt with in considering the role of the estate official as an individual, as a member of a social class and as a retainer in a special category, in Chapters IX and X. It will become apparent in the course of this chapter that the revenues of each receivership were assigned in such a way that each receivership is best considered as a separate unit, with its own special characteristics, in the pattern of Stafford's expenditure as a whole. Although the position of the Receiver-General in the general framework of administration remains to be considered in the following chapter, he had his own large receivership, in which he performed duties similar to those in every smaller receivership, and for this reason his work will be included in this chapter. Finally, the

Dover receivership was set up on a different basis, and with a different financial structure from the other receiverships, and it will be considered separately at the end of this chapter.

The main sources of revenue, the manor, borough and hamlet, have already been discussed in an earlier chapter. After meeting their own local costs, officials in these units handed over their surplus revenue to the receiver of their area for him to meet the wider expenses of the receivership before he, in his turn, passed on any surplus to Stafford himself. The receiver thus acted as the middle link in a chain. In some receiverships, there were other sources of revenue, additional to money from manorial officials, which the receiver collected. In the Stafford receivership the bailiffs of Stafford paid the annual fee-farm of the borough, five marks, to the receiver. This was part of a royal grant made to Stafford in May 1438,¹ originally for life, but lost in the Act of Resumption of 1450.² The Receiver-General was responsible for collecting the fee-farms of the counties of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, and for Northamptonshire and Herefordshire from the sheriffs of the counties. The fee-farms of Northamptonshire and Herefordshire were hereditary grants in the Bohun family, and had been granted in Anne Stafford in 1421. The fee-farms of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire had been granted to Stafford on his creation as duke of Buckingham in 1444.³ Payment of these fee-farms, worth £100 per annum, was suspended after 1448 because of the financial difficulties of the government, but they continued to be charged on the Receiver-General's accounts and by Michaelmas 1457, on his last surviving account, the arrears totalled £1000.⁴

1. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1436-41, p. 161.

2. SRO D641/1/2/57m10d; cf. SRO D641/1/2/273m2/21m5.

3. Rot. Parl., Vol. IV, pp. 135-42.

4. SRO D641/1/2/23m10.

In the Welsh Marcher lordships, the receivers were charged with the fine of the Great Sessions, a communal payment made by the lordships to avoid the inconveniences of having to attend the courts which Stafford, as a Marcher lord, was empowered to convene to dispense his own criminal and civil justice. In both Newport and Brecon the fine, when collected, proved to be the largest single source of revenue. In Newport in the 1440s, the annual instalments of the fine, redeemed at 1000 marks, were worth £163.5.4. The fines from Stowe and Ebbw manors, worth £6.14.8, were excused since Ebbw formed part of the Duchy of Lancaster and Stowe was exempted as all bond tenants there had long since run off, abandoning their tenements.¹ The fine in Brecon lordship, worth a total of 2000 marks, was, as in Newport, to be collected over a number of years, but in the 1450s there were financial difficulties in Brecon and of the fine granted in 1450 to be collected over three years, only £8.2s. had been collected by the receiver at Michaelmas 1454, and he had been unable to collect any payments at all from Hay borough and Welshry.² The Brecon receiver was responsible also for collecting the fee-farm of Brecon borough, worth £120 per annum, and a large number of other small charges appear on his account. These are of a nature similar to those on any manor or borough account, and it may be that they represent charges on Brecon borough, for which there is no separate account made. The charges include small farms of tenements, the great farm for agistment and pannage in Stafford's forests, advowry fines, rents of assize, new rents and the payment, in every second year, of the commorth, originally paid in cows, now commuted to a payment of £56.8.1. The Brecon receiver's chief financial units were not only the various manors, boroughs and hundreds of his

1. PRO SC6 924/23mm10, 11.

2. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, mm.4, 4d, 8d.

area, but also the Englishries and Welshries of the lordships of Huntingdon and Hay. These were divisions of land, the Englishry representing the unit within the lordship made up of the castle and borough, and the subinfeudated lands attached to the castle, the Welshry being the remaining lands, usually the uplands, inhabited almost entirely by free and bond Welsh tenants. Each formed a separate administrative unit, the inhabitants of the Englishry paying rent, rendering suit of court and performing the customary services or paying fines for commutation, the Welsh often holding their lands as a body, rendering tribute and other accustomed dues, with their own court of the Welshry presided over by the steward.¹

In addition to the charges of the year to be collected from the surplus revenues of the financial units of the area, the receiver was also obliged to collect as much of the outstanding arrears of his own office as he could. Though the amounts from the manors and boroughs which appear on the receiver's account represent actual cash paid over to him, he is charged with a lump sum of arrears from previous years. No indication is given of how much of these arrears he successfully collected. By 1457 on the Receiver-General's account, to take one outstanding example, the charge is at least £1000 higher than the total cash which he could have handled of the year's revenues since we know from his own account that he had not received this sum, the fee-farms of the counties mentioned above. Similarly, on the accounts of the other receivers, we can calculate the minimum total revenue in hand for the year by totalling the issues of manor and borough and we know the maximum total possible, which is this sum together with arrears, but it is difficult to tell for any one year how much money the receiver

1. Rees, South Wales and the March, p. 28.

actually handled, to meet the expenses of his area.

Surplus cash from the manors and boroughs could be paid in a number of ways. The receiver or a member of his staff usually set out to travel round the area, collecting the year's revenues or the previous year's arrears, at least once a year, usually after one of the rent or quarter days of Christmas, Annunciation (March 25) or midsummer (June 24). He would give the manorial official a tally or indented bill as a receipt. The manorial official could also hand over money to the auditor for delivery to the receiver, or to an annuitant or retainer if this made accounting quicker and easier. The transaction appeared on his own account and also in the charge on the receiver's account, although the money did not actually pass through the receiver's hands. For example, the receiver of the Gloucester area is charged on his account for 1451-52 with the sum of £26.1.9, received from the bailiff of Haresfield manor. The liberaciones denariorum of the bailiff's own account reads thus:-

In money delivered to Nicholas Poyntz, receiver, from the revenues of his office this year by the hands of Thomas Mille, esquire, in payment of a certain annuity of ten marks and also in payment of his wages as parker of the park there at 2d. per day granted for term of his life £9.14s. To the same receiver, of the same revenues £16.7.9. Total delivered £26.1.9.

The record of the payment of Thomas Mille's annuity and wages also appears in the section of annuities on the receiver's own account though he had had no part in the actual transaction.¹ In the same way, the bailiff or reeve could include in his liberaciones denariorum sums paid to the Treasurer of the Household, and this amount would be included in the charge on the receiver's account and then again on the discharge side of the account, although he had himself not handled the money or had direct dealing with the Household Treasurer. Finally, at the time

1. SRO D641/1/2/175mm.5d, 8, 8d.

of the audit, the manorial officials brought with them any monies collected since the receiver's last collection and paid this over "super compotum", the receiver initialling on their accounts the fact that he had received the money. The process of collecting revenue and meeting the expenses of his own office was, for the receiver as for the reeve or bailiff, a continuous process throughout the year.

Perhaps the first fixed charge on the receiver's revenues, common to all receiverships, was the cost of administration, which included fees and wages of the receivership's officials, their expenses when employed on Stafford's affairs, the cost of materials like parchment and ink, for portage of money to Stafford, audit expenses, and various miscellaneous expenses which were included under the general heading of exchequer expenses. Fees and wages usually included those of the receiver himself, the steward, the clerk of the courts, the constable or janitor, or both, of the castles, and the parkers and warreners. Payment of these last two officials was sometimes made on the manorial accounts, the parkers of Stafford and Madeley being paid by the officials of these manors after 1438. In the Receiver-General's area, in fact, it was the common practice for all estate officials, stewards, constables and parkers to have their fees paid on their manors. In such a large administrative area as this, this simplified procedure was quicker and less cumbersome than waiting for the central audit. Likewise in a similar large area covered by the Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Hampshire receivership, stewards, parkers and feodaries in Wiltshire and Hampshire were paid on manors in those counties.

Some receiverships were burdened relatively lightly with exchequer expenses. The Stafford receivership had only the fees of the receiver, the clerk of the courts and steward. After 1439, the parkers' fees were transferred to manorial accounts. From 1445 until 1449, the

receiver was granted an extra allowance of £3.6.8 in addition to his fee of £6.13.4, but from 1451, when Hugh Erdeswick ceased to be steward, no successor was appointed and the total of £16 on the 1445-46 account for fees and wages fell to only £9.6.8.¹ Newport receivership had a small number of officials on the receiver's payroll, only three in fact, since he himself held the offices of constable of the castle and approver of the lordship, but his fees and those of steward and janitor amounted to £26.1.4 per annum.² There are only two accounts for Kent and Surrey which provide figures for fees and wages, and these were: £30.7.8 in 1445-46, and £32.0.8 in 1453-54, this latter figure including the £2.10s. fee of a groom guarding the horses.³ Fees in Holderness and in Brecon, the two most valuable lordships, were both relatively high. In Holderness in 1447-48, the only year for which an account survives, £41.4.7½ was spent on fees for receiver, steward (at £20 per annum), auditor for Holderness, two clerks of account and two parkers, and the sum includes also the expense of parchment for accounts and rolls, which probably came to a few shillings at most.⁴ In Brecon in 1453-54 the fees for the receiver, the steward, the constable of Brecon Castle, the janitor, the feodary in Herefordshire, the chaplain and the clerk of the courts amounted to £45.10.8 although for some reason the fees of the last three officials were not paid. Added to this, there was the half of the auditor's fee assigned on the Brecon receivership, another £10 per annum.⁵ In the Gloucester area, the fees of the receiver and steward were annuities rather than merely fees for office, and are included in

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1. SRO D641/1/2/56mm.10, 11; /58m10.
 2. PRO SC6 924/23m.10; /25m10.
 3. SRO D641/1/2/233m1d; /234m2.
 4. SRO D641/1/2/19m5.
 5. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m7d.

the list of annuitants, together with the fees of both men as parkers. This was the situation during the term of office of Nicholas Poyntz as receiver,¹ from 1439 until 1454, but when Thomas Berkeley became receiver, his fee of £5 was put in a separate section as a fee for his work, rather than an annuity, and Nicholas Poyntz continued to receive his fee as well, for the rest of his life.²

The Receiver-General, on his account, paid only his own fee, that of the clerk of the courts for Rutland and Nottinghamshire, that of the keeper of Stafford's London house, and his half of the auditor's fee, a total of £20. From 1445, the Receiver-General himself was allowed an extra £3.6.8 per annum on his account.³ Fees of all other officials within the Receiver-General's area were paid on the various manors, but the Receiver-General paid the fees of the Household, from the Treasurer to the carpenters and plumbers retained in the Household. In 1438-39, these fees amounted to £105, in 1450-51, £215.18.4 and in 1456-57, £302.⁴ The receiverships of Stafford and Kent and Surrey shared some of the expense of the Household fees, for it was in these areas that Stafford's livery, with its attendant grooms, valets and pages, was based. The main burden of Household fees fell, however, upon the Receiver-General's area.

The Receiver-General, the Gloucester receiver and the receiver of Holderness and the auditor were able to claim their daily expenses for travelling round the estates in the course of their work of collecting revenue and supervising Stafford's affairs. The Receiver-General and the auditor were allowed 3s.4d. per day each, the Gloucester and

1. SRO D641/1/2/167-175.

2. PRO SC6 1117/9m8d.

3. SRO D641/1/2/21m9.

4. SRO D641/1/2/15m6; PRO SC6 1305/4m4; SRO D641/1/2/23m6.

Holderness receivers 2s. per day each, until 1454 when the Holderness receiver's allowance was increased to 2s.8d. Clerks of the staff of the receivers were allowed 8d. per day. No other receiver seems to have claimed these daily expenses on his account, but all were allowed expenses for any special journeys made on Stafford's business. All receiverships shared the burden of audit expenses. Manorial officials claimed their own travelling expenses on their own accounts, but the receivers paid their own expenses and those of the auditor for board and lodging during the audit, and shared the cost of the auditor's travelling expenses from one receivership to the next. In the Receiver-General's area, where the annual audit could take a month and a half to cover all manors, and where both Receiver-General and auditor claimed 3s.4d. per day, this could constitute a sizeable bill. The total in 1444-45, for a circuit of the estates, taking forty-six days for the Receiver-General and forty-nine for the auditor, who had to travel from his home in Herefordshire, was £15.16.8.¹ In Staffordshire in 1445-46, audit expenses amounted to 30s., in Brecon in 1453-54 to £2.3.4, and in Newport in 1456-57 to £2.6.8.²

Exchequer expenses for materials like parchment, paper, candles, wax, ink, leather and canvas bags for carrying money were not usually high: in Stafford receivership in 1457-58, 4s.11d; in Newport in 1456-57, 3s.4d; and in Gloucestershire in 1458-59, 5s.6d.³ If fees for clerks writing the accounts or for other unusual items were included, the costs could be much higher. The Receiver-General paid £4.4s. for exchequer expenses in 1456-57. Of this, parchment cost £2, the fee of the clerk accompanying the Receiver-General at the audit to write the

1. SRO D641/1/2/18m6.

2. SRO D641/1/2/56m11; CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m8; PRO SC6 924/25m11d.

3. SRO D641/1/2/62m11, 2d; PRO SC6 924/25m11; SRO D641/1/2/18Om1.

accounts was £2, paper cost 3s. and ink 1s.¹ In Brecon in 1453-54 the receiver spent £2.9.8 on parchment, ink, bags for money, red wax, white wax for warrants "pro meliori levatione denarios domini sigillando hoc anno", and six yards of green cloth for the counting cloth of the auditor and receiver's office.² There were various miscellaneous charges on some accounts, like the 6s.8d. for the fee and parchment of the clerk in copying out a rental of Thornbury manor. The original had been made in 1380/1 and was still in use, although probably indecipherable in places.³ £6.13.4 was claimed by the Stafford receiver on his accounts from 1454 for expenses in making new rentals for various vills and manors near Stafford. This item was placed in respite as there was no warrant for such an expenditure.⁴ The Receiver-General's account also contains various expenses incurred on Stafford's behalf in the royal Exchequer and Chancery. He would pay for necessary searches for evidences, for necessary writs to be drawn up, sealed, enrolled or delivered, with appropriate fees to the king's clerks for their advice and help. In 1438, Henry VI granted Stafford the manors of Atherstone, Wedonbeck and two thirds of the farm of Netherwiresdale, with its reversion. The original letters patent had to be surrendered as invalid as they did not agree with the process issued by the Exchequer. In the spring of 1439 the Receiver-General was busy obtaining fresh writs, which were issued in June 1439; he paid £12.16s. for the various writs and for other expenses, including 1s. for wine, for a clerk of the Pipe, and 8d. for a warrant to have the writ of fieri facias carried among the king's writs for greater security.⁵

1. SRO D641/1/2/23m7.

2. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m8.

3. SRO D641/1/2/167m9.

4. SRO D641/1/2/59m11d.

5. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1436-41, pp. 161, 275; SRO D641/1/2/15m7.

On some receivers' accounts, the costs of portage of money to Stafford at Maxstoke, Stafford or London or wherever he might be, was allowed on the account. In Brecon, the rate was 20s. for every £100 carried. In 1453-54, the cost of portage for £293.6.8 was £2.18.8.¹ Portage costs are regular items on the Gloucester receiver's account, and here the rate seems to be the ordinary daily expenses rate only, 2s. for the receiver and 8d. for a clerk per day. In Newport lordship from 1446, the receiver, William Kemeys, was claiming costs of transporting money, but throughout his tenure of the receiver's office the claims were never allowed, but put in respite. By Michaelmas 1455 the total in respite was £38.15.8 for the previous nine years' accounts. Kemeys left office in 1456, and his claim for a portage allowance was eventually disallowed, probably because there was no precedent for it in Newport.² His successor made no such claim. For portage of money, two men were usually entrusted with its delivery, for greater security. A man was paid 3s.4d. for accompanying John Cokeyn from Kymbolton with 100 marks for Stafford, "pro salvo conducto denariorum predictorum".³

There was another fixed charge on the receiver's account, which he shared with his counterpart of the manor and borough, and that was the cost of repairs and general maintenance work on the estates, whether repairs to houses, walls, outbuildings, enclosures, extensions or alterations to existing structures. In the Receiver-General's area, all repairs were charged on the local accounts. He himself paid for no repairs on his own account nor, after 1437-38, did the Stafford receiver. In 1437-38, repairs at Tillington, Stafford, Madeley, Tittensor and the costs of building a new mill and enclosing Stafford

1. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m8.

2. SRO D641/1/2/22m1.

3. SRO D641/1/2/15m7.

park were met by the receiver,¹ but thereafter, repair costs were transferred to the manorial accounts, the receiver paying out only for the repairs to Stafford church, which cost £37.6.8 in 1447-48, and £2.5s. in 1457-58 for the glass and glazing of certain windows in the church.² In the Gloucester receivership, the only repairs met on the receiver's account were the annual costs of enclosing Eastwood Park, usually about £3.6.8 per annum. After 1446, even this cost was transferred to the Thornbury manor accounts.

From the Holderness receiver's declared account for 1447-48, the receiver obviously did meet some of the costs of repairs. His total bill was £14.3.1, which included the costs of repairs to the Humber wall and the digging of a ditch there, the building of a gowte, or sluice, through the sea-wall at Paulsfleet, and the costs of building a bridge.³ At Cause, the costs of enclosures were an annual feature, and in 1447-48 the costs of repairs were £25 and in 1449-50, £29.9.9, but no details are given as to whether these sums were spent on repairs or on new constructions.⁴ The receiver of Kent and Surrey, in contrast to the other receivers, seems to have had to bear the costs of local repairs on his own account. In 1447-48 he was seeing to repairs at Penshurst, Esher, Tonbridge, Woldingham, the London house, and in Northfrith park. The highest charge was that for building a weir, £21.14s.⁵ Charges on the revenues for 1454-55 were, however, mainly for repairs at Tonbridge.⁶ The 1428-30 account gives much fuller details of repairs at Effingham, Brasted, Blechingley, Tonbridge and London, and in all these operations

1. PRO SC6 988/12m11-11d.

2. SRO D641/1/2/19m4; /62m12d.

3. SRO D641/1/2/19m5.

4. SRO D641/1/2/20m2; /22m5.

5. SRO D641/1/2/19m6.

6. SRO D641/1/2/22m6.

the receiver is seen taking an active part in supervising the work, receiving an allowance of 1s. per day. The mills at Tonbridge needed new millstones, so the receiver himself went to London to choose them and see them transported safely by water from London to Newhithe on the Medway, and thence by cart to Tonbridge together with two pipes of wine bought in London. Rooms were being repaired and enlarged and a new stable built at St. Helens, the London house, and oak trees at Yalding were cut down for the making of planks and beams for this work. These again were sent to London by water via Newhithe, and again, the receiver was there supervising the work.¹

Apart from the construction of barns, weirs, and the occasional new house or barn, there was not much large-scale building by Stafford on his estates, although there was a certain amount of alteration at Maxstoke Castle, the costs of which were met from the manorial revenues and by warrant from the Receiver-General. At Newport, works on the castle accounted for most of the revenue in 1447-48, these costs being incurred by the renovation of the castle as a fortress and by making it more comfortable as a residence. Its defences were strengthened by building up the walls by a further three feet, and a new apartment was built on to the Chapel Tower. The work continued over a number of years, at some expense, £66.12s. in 1445-47, £86.17.3½ in 1447-48 and a further £3.14.11 in 1449-50, by which time the work seems to have been completed.² Even more was spent in 1456-57, however, when it was found necessary to build two new sluices in the sea-wall, at a cost of £109.19.5.³ In Brecon receivership in 1447-48, the receiver spent £15.15.7 on repairs to the Great Chamber, and a further £24 on the

1. SRO D641/1/2/231mm6-8.

2. NLW Tredegar MS 146mm9-9d; PRO SC6 924/23m10d.

3. PRO SC6 924/25mm10d-11.

building of a tower at Talgarth, begun by Lord Berkeley before 1441 while he had been lord of the manor. A further £1 was spent on this tower in 1453-54,¹ but the total cost of completing what Lord Berkeley had begun is unknown. In 1454-55 the receiver spent £17.10s. on the digging and carrying of stones and sand and the buying of lime and other materials for the repairs to part of the castle wall towards Uske, but the auditor refused to allow the payment or the work to proceed until it had been seen by Stafford or his council.² Fortifications to the castle were perhaps especially necessary here, for on his account for 1449-50 the receiver had been allowed wages of £40, at Stafford's order, for guarding the castle for twenty weeks.⁴ The reason, however, is not stated.

Two receiverships, those of Stafford and of Kent and Surrey, shared the expenses of Stafford's livery, which was centred on Stafford and Tonbridge in Kent. There are signs that Cause and Holderness receiverships also contributed, to some degree, towards livery costs, but the evidence for this is very inconclusive. The Stafford receiver was responsible for the hiring of pasture land and land for growing fodder crops, and for the costs of harvesting these. Most of the demesne land in Stafford and neighbouring manors was leased out to farmers, one of whom was the Household Treasurer, this being a more profitable system than direct cultivation and the hiring of labourers at busy times like harvest, although this was still done on a small scale on some manors. There is no mention of works being exacted from the native tenants, for commutation was fully established. Where Stafford still drew rents for meadowland, there was an arrangement with the

1. SRO D641/1/2/19m1; CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m8.

2. SRO D641/1/2/22m2.

3. SRO D641/1/2/20m1.

Treasurer, who hired them and paid the rents direct to the Receiver-General, not the Stafford receiver. This land cultivated for the livery was insufficient for the provision of fodder and grazing, and fodder crops had to be bought. In a year of peace, like 1442-43, the cost of the livery on the Stafford receiver's account consisted of £16.3.9 on pasturage and harvesting of lands, £54.5.7 on fodder and its transportation, £28.19.10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in wages of valets, grooms, pages and men guarding and grooming the horses, and £3.6.8 in fees of other grooms at Stafford. There were also various miscellaneous costs, like the shoeing of horses, halters, reins, medicines and other items, and for the leading of horses from Stafford manor to wherever Stafford needed them.¹ In years of disturbance, costs rocketed. In 1450-51, pasturage and harvesting cost £25.6.3, fodder £79.0.9, wages to stablemen £17.17.8, and to grooms and pages of various squires and valets in the Household or retinue, allowed bouche of court by the terms of their masters' indenture with Stafford, £29.3.1 $\frac{1}{2}$. Miscellaneous costs this year amounted to £5.12.5, and there was also the cost of bringing fresh horses from Stafford to Maxstoke at various times throughout the year.² In 1457-58, again costs of the livery were high, pasturage and harvesting costing £44, fodder crops £64.16.2 $\frac{1}{2}$, miscellaneous expenses £7.10.2 $\frac{1}{2}$, wages of stablemen £17.4.6 $\frac{1}{2}$, and of grooms and pages of the Household and retinue £30.7.6. These pages included those of Barbour, Curzon, Bagot, Gresley and Berkeley, as well as of members of the Household.³

The Kent receiver's accounts show very much the same kind of costs. The 1428-30 account which, it must be remembered, covered two years, gives the wages of grooms at Tonbridge and Pympe as £41.19.3 $\frac{1}{2}$, and the

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1. SRO D641/1/2/19m1; CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m8.
 2. SRO D641/1/2/22m2.
 3. SRO D641/1/2/20m1.

cost of miscellaneous items like shoes, nails, and medical ingredients such as vinegar, honey, alum and sulphur, was £13.11.8. Costs of pasturage and fodder were £6.9.2 and £104.9s. respectively. This account also gives details of the costs of horses from Kent to London, including one journey to London to meet the Countess of Westmorland, Stafford's mother-in-law. The cost of resting horses on a journey to Stafford was 5s.2d, but taking seventy-two horses to London in December 1429 for the young king's coronation cost only 4s., there being only one stop, at Farnborough. The cost of caring for a sick horse at Tonbridge from May to August 1430, and the cost of sending it, two greyhounds (a gift from James I of Scotland) and a groom from Tonbridge to Winchelsea, and thence to Calais where Stafford was serving in the duke of Bedford's army, amounted to £4.6.9.¹ In 1454-55, the year of the battle of St. Albans, costs increased, but not as greatly as in the Stafford centre of the livery. Harvest and transport of fodder cost £4.4.6 and £87.16.11 respectively, wages of stablemen, yeomen and pages were £35.14.0½ and miscellaneous costs amounted to £10.19s.²

It would seem that Stafford had studs for breeding horses at Cause and Holderness. The cost of taking horses to Holderness for mating them appears on the Stafford receiver's account for 1450-51 and the Holderness account for 1447-48 gives the expenses of leading two stallions and eighteen foals back from Holderness to Stafford.³ The Cause account for the same year shows that £4.9.8 was spent on fodder and other necessary expenses for the stallions there and the account for 1454-55 mentions that Stafford's stud there cost £3.14.1 that year.⁴

1. SRO D641/1/2/231mm4, 5, 6.

2. SRO D641/1/2/22m6.

3. SRO D641/1/2/19m5.

4. SRO D641/1/2/19m7; /22m5.

On various Stafford accounts also are references to the stud at Cause. In May 1456, two stallions and four horses were sent and in June of the same year a further two stallions. "Miscellaneous costs" on the Stafford account for this same year show the expenses for four men leading nine horses from Stafford to London (18s.8d.) and the expenses of a carter carrying the harnesses of Lord Stafford to London and his costs in carrying halters and reins in May from London to Stafford (3s.4d.).¹

All receiverships shared, to a greater or lesser extent, the expenses of the Household. Whenever Stafford and later his son, Lord Stafford, was in residence in any manor in a receivership, the receiver was responsible for expenses during the period of residence. In 1442-43, the receiver of Gloucester spent £24.16.5 on Household expenses at Thornbury, having first sent a messenger to the Treasurer of the Household, then at Newport, asking what provisions he should buy for the visit.² Brecon and Newport receiverships contributed very little to Household expenses directly, unless the Household was in residence when provisions would be obtained from local merchants and farmers. The same can be said for the Kent and Surrey receivership, although occasionally deer from the parks were sent up to London. On the 1428-30 account, a deer was sent to the auditor in London by order of Stafford's wife, as well as three for the Household.³ In 1445-46, preparations were made at Tonbridge for the arrival of John Bouchier, the earl of Oxford and others, who were to come to hunt "for Stafford's larder". Provisions were got in for them and then, when they did not arrive, had to be sold off again at a loss. In the same year a man was paid for

1. SRO D641/1/2/60ml0; cf. SRO D641/1/2/59ml1.

2. SRO D641/1/2/170ml0d, 2.

3. SRO D641/1/2/231ml0.

climbing the beech trees in the park to collect herons' eggs to be sent to the Household, at the rate of 4d. per tree.¹ Most receiver-ships in England did in fact send some produce to the Household on occasion, although probably as a special treat for Stafford himself or for his family.

There was never any question of the estates supporting the Household, most contributions being on a small scale. From Gloucestershire, sturgeon, oxen and lampreys feature on most accounts as being sent to the Household at Maxstoke or Writtle, the receiver claiming the transport costs or rewards for the men who caught the sturgeon. In 1457-58, sixteen does were sent from the parks of the Gloucestershire manors to Maxstoke for the marriage feast of Stafford's daughter Katherine.² From the Stafford receiver also small contributions were dispatched to the Household, sheep and various birds being sent in 1442-43 for Christmas.³ In 1445 seventeen oxen were driven from Stafford to Writtle at Easter and thirty fattened oxen from Stafford to Maxstoke in August.⁴ Cause, the smallest receivership, supplied 400 sheep and their transport to Maxstoke in 1447-48 and in 1449-50, sheep, oxen, bulls and pigs were transported to the Household,⁵ which might suggest that livestock was bred at Cause for the Household. The oxen from Stafford in 1445 were driven across the country rather than transported as carcasses, and this may be the case in other examples quoted on the accounts. If this was so, to quote J.M.W. Bean, "it implies a well co-ordinated policy of estate administration".⁶ Sheep were kept also

1. SRO D641/1/2/233m2d.

2. SRO D641/1/2/179m1.

3. SRO D641/1/2/54m10; /55m10.

4. SRO D641/1/2/19m7.

5. SRO D641/1/2/20m2.

6. Bean, Estates of the Percy Family, p. 14.

at Holderness lordship where, in 1447-48, £30 for the price of sheep sold, and £43.8.4 for the price of wool was respited to the receiver.¹ The scale of the sheep-rearing here is unknown, this being the only account which survives for Holderness.

The main way of obtaining provisions for the Household was to buy the necessary goods from merchants and tradesmen, these men being given warrants for payment. It was, increasingly, the policy of Stafford to assign part of the revenues of his receiverships to settle debt to these creditors. The Treasurer of the Household continued to receive cash payments from Stafford's privy purse to be used to pay various warrants from creditors, £686.12.4 in 1443-44 and £539.12.0½ in 1452-53.² The majority of Household expenses were met from the receiverships from what was, in effect, their surplus revenues and pure cash profit. It was a reasonably simple procedure of accounting and certainly spread the burden of expense. The Treasurer of the Household, as authorized by Stafford, gave a warrant to a creditor in return for whatever provisions he had supplied, which directed the creditor to a certain receiver from whom he would receive payment; for example: "Obligation de Thome Higham de £143.16.2. Garrant fait a dit Thomas destre paier del dit somme par les mains de John Heton, Resceivour General."³ We know from the Receiver-General's accounts that Higham was often referred to him for payment for sheep, rabbits, doves, corn and other provisions, although what he supplied in this instance for £143.16.2 is unknown. Stafford himself then sent a warrant to the relevant receiver to honour the creditor's warrant for payment: "Lettre de garrant to Richard Lascy (receiver in Holderness) to pay Richard Hedon, vintner of London, £38.4.3

1. SRO D641/1/2/19m5.

2. BM Add. Roll 5962; SRO D641/1/3/3m1.

3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 39.

for wine. Dated 20 March anno 18 1440,"¹ or "Lettre de garrant de John Wyverton, bareller of London, to Nicholas Poyntz, receiver in Gloucester."² On Poyntz' account for 1439-40 is the entry, "To John Wyverton of London, in part payment of £40: £20."³ Finally, a warrant was sent to the auditor to allow the payment of the amount owed to the creditor, on the receiver's account: "Warrant to William Weldon to allow Nicholas Poyntz £22.14s. for the expenses of the Household at Thornbury."⁴ If a warrant was not produced at the right time, or if there was a delay in sending it, it could lead to complications on the receiver's account, even though the creditor himself obtained payment. The Kent receiver in 1454-55 was presented by creditors with warrants for payment for fodder by John Maynett and for wages for John Curzon and others and for expenses of the horses of the livery in March and April. Payment was made but not allowed on the account. It was put in respite as the receiver had not received the warrants from Stafford. These had been sent to him at the hands of Henry Hexstall, the Tonbridge Chamberlain. Unfortunately, Hexstall had been set upon and the warrants "stolen by robbery of certeyn theves with oder stuff of his beside Blecchinglee", so the auditor could not discharge the receiver for the payment until new warrants were obtained.⁵ In the same way, if the auditor did not receive the warrant allowing payment, he would not discharge the receiver for the payments he had made until the warrants were received. Items in respite for this reason are to be found on almost every account and usually had been cleared by the time of the next

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1. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 24.
 2. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 30.
 3. SRO D641/1/2/167m9.
 4. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 59.
 5. SRO D641/1/2/22m6.

account.

As might be expected, the Treasurer of the Household and the Receiver-General bore most of the cost of assigned payments to creditors. It is a feature of the Receiver-General's accounts of the period that the cash payments to Stafford decreased gradually and those to the Household Treasurer decreased drastically, while assigned payments to creditors increased. In 1438-39 he paid £592.8.4 to the Treasurer and £119.18.5 to creditors. In 1450-51 these payments were £66.13.4 and £418.17.5, and in 1456-57, £11.15.4 and £462.19.9 $\frac{3}{4}$.¹ In 1443-44 the Treasurer paid £332.17.2 $\frac{1}{2}$ to creditors by warrant and in 1452-53 this had increased to £728.19.11 $\frac{3}{4}$.² The receiverships shared the burden in varying degrees. Cause, the least valuable, and Stafford receivership which bore the livery costs, were assigned a relatively small share of payments to creditors. Kent and Surrey was burdened rather more heavily, paying out £96.10.4 in 1447-48, whereas Stafford paid nothing and Cause only £19.19s. In this same year, Brecon and Gloucester receiverships paid more or less the same, £83.15.6 $\frac{1}{2}$ and £84.4.8. Warrants on the Gloucester receivership were mainly for wine from Bristol and London vintners but a wide variety of other commodities could be included, as was, of course, the case in all receiverships. Newport and Holderness, the two most valuable lordships, were treated very differently. Newport bore little of the burden of Household expenses — only £33.17.8 $\frac{1}{2}$ was assigned to creditors in 1447-48. Usually only one or two warrants were charged to Newport but for fairly large payments rather than a number of petty charges. Holderness in 1447-48 paid out a total of £423.3.9 to creditors, who included grocers, fishmongers, a pikemonger, a saddler, an apothecary, a baker and a

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1. SRO D641/1/2/15mm8-9; PRO SC6 1305/4m6; SRO D641/1/2/23mm8-9.
 2. EM Add. Roll 5962; SRO D641/1/3/3m6.

"spangilmaker".¹

There are various features to payment by warrant. They could be assigned not only for provisions like food, drink, fuel and other Household necessities but also for a great variety of goods, from the £50.11s. paid to a jeweller in London in 1450-51,² to fees and wages in arrears, like the £26.6.8 to Sir Humfrey Stafford of Grafton as Lieutenant of Calais from 1445,³ to a £10 gift to Thomas Draper and his wife Annatrille on their wedding,⁴ to materials for repairs at Maxstoke and Oakham,⁵ and for all kinds of cloth — woollen, linen, silken, damask, velvet and "three pieces of tartan for cotearmes and Standardes for Calais" in 1450.⁶ Creditors could be assigned warrants on any receivership, London merchants having to get their payment from the Brecon or Holderness receivership if necessary. They could be assigned payments from two receiverships in the same year for different items or over a number of years assigned to any receivership. Robert Stephens of Fowy, a vintner, was assigned payment from the Gloucester receiver in 1445-46 and, for different items, from Brecon and Gloucester receiverships in 1447-48.⁷ Two merchants of Lucca who supplied silk cloth, cloth of Arras and velvets to Stafford were assigned payments on the Newport, Brecon and Gloucester receiverships over a period of years for various transactions.⁸ Payment of debts was often made in instalments. Richard Lockwood, saddler

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1. All these figures for payment to creditors are from the receivers' declared accounts for 1447-48 (SRO D641/1/2/19mm1-7).
 2. PRO SC6 1305/4m5.
 3. SRO D641/1/2/173m9.
 4. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m8. Both were members of the Household.
 5. PRO SC6 1305/4m7.
 6. SRO D641/1/2/21m8.
 7. SRO D641/1/2/172m7; /19mm1, 3.
 8. SRO D641/1/2/174m8; /2Qm4 (Gloucester receiver, 1448-49, 1449-50); SRO D641/1/2/2Qm5; PRO SC6 924/24m8d (Newport, 1449-50, 1451-52); CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m8 (Brecon 1453-54).

and citizen of London, was paid his debt of £33.17.8 $\frac{1}{2}$ over the year 1447-48 in two equal instalments of £16.18.10 $\frac{1}{4}$,¹ and the merchants of Lucca mentioned above, Laurence Poge and Matthew Date who did a great deal of business with Stafford, were assigned £50 in March 1450 from the revenues of Brecon. £11.8.4 was paid to them on the 1450-51 account, £6.13.4 on the 1451-52 account and the final instalment of £31.8.4. on the 1452-53 account.²

Payment by warrant appears, on the whole, to have been a reasonably speedy method of paying off creditors and most receivers seem to have managed to honour the warrants assigned to them within a year of their issue. This was, perhaps, because calculations of surplus revenue for this purpose could be made with some degree of accuracy from the annual valor drawn up by the auditor. If creditors died before their warrant was honoured, payment was made to the executors. In the Gloucester receivership in 1441-42, £66.17.6 was paid to the widow of a brewer who was his executrice, and a further payment of £8.17.6 was made in the following year.³ On the Receiver-General's account for 1450-51, a warrant of 18 April 1449 allowed payment of £40 to Francisco Michell, merchant of Lucca, for bread, ale and velvets supplied by his brother Nicholas. By 1456-57 Stafford was dealing with Francisco Michell himself, for silk cloth.⁴ In June 1440 Stafford had issued a warrant to his receiver in Gloucestershire for £118.15.11 to cover the debts of his mother who had died in October 1438, and received a receipt for the money from her executor, William Palmer.⁵

It has already been mentioned that assigned payments to creditors were part of the surplus profits of a receivership; they were not fixed charges like fees, wages, administrative costs or repairs. Another

1. PRO SC6 924/23m11.

2. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m8.

3. SRO D641/1/2/168m8;
/17Qm1Qd.

4. PRO SC6 1305/4m7;
SRO D641/1/2/23m8.

5. SRO D641/1/2/167m9.

charge on these surplus profits before any payment was made to Stafford's privy purse, was that of annuities. These were not assigned between the receiverships with any idea of spreading the burden equally, a feature which has already been noted with reference to payments to creditors, for the reason that some receiverships already had their own special financial burdens, like Stafford receivership's livery charges, while others were used to a large extent by Stafford as a personal fisc. In the receivership, although retaining fees might be assigned on the revenues of a particular manor, fees were, officially, paid through the receiver himself.¹ When an indenture of service was made between Stafford and a retainer, both kept copies, the retainer's copy serving as his warrant for payment from the receiver. Stafford sent a warrant outlining the main details of the letters patent of indenture to his receiver as his warrant to pay the fee, and probably the auditor was also notified that he might allow the payment on the receiver's account. If the receiver, or manorial official, did not obtain an acquittance or receipt from the retainer, the auditor would not allow the payment and it was placed in respite until an acquittance was received. On the Gloucester receiver's account for 1458-59, the £5 per annum fee of Thomas Delamare was in respite for a total of five years, from 1452 to 1457, to a total of £25, because no acquittance had been received, or because they were not adequate. Twenty pounds of this sum was finally allowed to the receiver on the 1459-60 account.² Payment of a fee to Delamare seems to have ceased after 1457 for some reason, although Delamare is later found again within the Stafford allegiance.³

In the Receiver-General's area, it was the manorial officials

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1. Cf. p. 199 and note, above.
 2. SRO D641/1/2/18Qm1; PRO SC6 1117/10m9.
 3. Wedgwood, Biographies, pp. 572-3 and n. 1.

themselves who paid the retaining fees before passing on the surplus cash to the Receiver-General. In such a large area as his, it was quicker and more convenient for the retainers to be directed to a manor for payment rather than waiting until the cumbersome central audit had been completed. It is not known how many annuities were paid from the Receiver-General's area, nor their total amount. Certainly in Warwickshire, Nottinghamshire and Rutland, for which counties manorial accounts survive, each manor was paying one or more retaining fee, but there are no accounts for other counties within the Receiver-General's area from which to discover who the retainers were, or what fees were paid. In Warwickshire, the retainers included the lawyers Thomas Bate, John Vampage and Thomas Littleton, the Vernons of Haddon in Derbyshire, both father and son, and Sir Edward Grey, a son of Lord Grey of Ruthin. Other known annuitants in the Receiver-General's area were Stafford's half-brother John Bouchier, lawyers such as William Tresham, John Markham and William Yelverton, and representatives of influential North Midlands families such as the Davonports, Mainwarings and Warburtons. Annuitants mentioned in this section will be dealt with more fully in a later chapter.¹

The Receiver-General himself paid very few retaining fees, having already on his accounts the fees and wages of the Household staff. On the first surviving account, for 1438-39, he paid the fees of William Tresham, Nicholas Radford and Nicholas Ashton,² but all three were later transferred to manorial accounts, Tresham to Rothwell manor in Northamptonshire, Ashton and Radford to Callington in Cornwall. On the next surviving account, for 1444-45, he paid the fee of Robert Grey, esquire, which was also at some point transferred to Oakham manor for payment,

1. Below, Ch. IX, passim.

2. SRO D641/1/2/15m6.

the manor on which his annuity was also assigned.¹ On the later accounts, the only annuities paid are to former Household servants, Richard Dounham, Treasurer of the Households of both Anne Stafford and then, briefly, of her son, who received ten marks for life each year "for good service to Lady Anne", and Katherine Basset, probably nurse or governess to the Stafford children, who received £5 per annum.² Members of Stafford's family received their annuities on these accounts. Sir John Bouchier received his annuity from the revenues of Writtle manor from the hands of the Receiver-General. Humfrey, Lord Stafford, Stafford's heir, received a £40 annuity "during pleasure" from March 1455 and Lady Mary Neville, Stafford's sister-in-law, received £5 per annum from 1450.³

Newport and Brecon, both valuable lordships in the Welsh March, bore very little of the burden of annuities, and Welshmen in Stafford's retinue were very rare. The Newport receiver paid only one annuity, of 10 marks, to Robert Whitgreve for life from 1430, and this ceased in 1452 when Whitgreve died.⁴ There is only one annuitant on the Brecon receiver's account for 1453-54, John Scudamore, who received 10 marks. It would seem that Miles Water, Walter Vaughn and Thomas FitzHarry who received "fees" of 4 marks, 5 marks and £2 respectively, were also annuitants, the difference being that they perhaps were to receive their fees during pleasure only.⁵ Even with these three fees, this was not a heavy bill for Brecon. In c.1440, the receivership had had to bear the cost of a 100 marks annuity to Stafford's wife,⁶ but even this

1. SRO D641/1/2/18m6.

2. SRO D641/1/2/21m7.

3. SRO D641/1/2/23m7.

4. It was paid for the last time on the 1451-52 account (PRO SC6 924/24m8).

5. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, mm8, 7d.

6. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 25.

ceased in 1449 when it was transferred to the Gloucester receiver's account and increased to £100 per annum.¹

There is not much information about payments to retainers for Holderness receivership. On the 1447-48 account, only four annuities are paid by the receiver, to John Constable esquire, Thomas Barston, Edward Colston, chaplain and Robert Danby, a lawyer, later a Chief Justice.² From another source, the Redd Book of Caus, it appears that the annuities of another lawyer, John Portington in the early 1440s, and of Richard Roos in the 1450s, were also paid by the Holderness receiver.³ For Cause, there are only declared accounts, on which fees, wages and annuities are given as a lump sum, £48.11s. in 1447-48, £42.7.11 in 1449-50 and £47.1.4 in 1454-55.⁴ These sums included fees of the receiver, steward, constables, parkers and foresters as well as the annuities. Cause was not a valuable lordship and probably bore little of the cost of retaining fees, but John Dutton of Staffordshire, Griffith Vaughn and William Stanley⁵ all received annuities from Cause at various times and John Bouchier's annuity of 10 marks was charged on Cause lordship in 1442 until it was increased to 40 marks and transferred to Writtle manor in 1443.⁶

On the 1428-30 account for Kent and Surrey, there were only three annuitants, a valet, the Garter King of Arms (40s. during pleasure) and John Salvayn, esquire.⁷ In 1445-46, fees continued to be paid to the

1. SRO D641/1/2/175m8d.

2. SRO D641/1/2/19m5.

3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fos. 25, 101.

4. SRO D641/1/2/19m7; /20m2; /22m5.

5. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 43 (Dutton and Stanley); SRO D641/1/2/54m10 (Vaughn).

6. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 43.

7. SRO D641/1/2/231m11.

valet and Garter King of Arms and to one other valet, and 100s. during pleasure to Richard Culpeper, the only representative of the local gentry.¹ In 1453-54, apart from one of the valets, a lady of the Chamber, a lawyer, Walter Wangeford, and Richard Culpeper, the only other annuitant was Walter Percival, esquire.² His origins are unknown and he is found in the Households of Stafford and of his son, Lord Stafford,³ but he can hardly be found to be an influence for Stafford in Kent. From the accounts which survive, it appears that no annuities were paid by Kent or Surrey manorial officials, and it is difficult to know why Stafford paid so little attention to building up his influence in Kent or Surrey. Apart from Salvayn and Culpeper, none of the Kentish gentry appears to have been in his retinue, although Alexander Eden was for a time in his Household⁴ and John Pympe of Pympes manor is mentioned as acting with the receiver on Stafford's business in 1444/5. On the same account he, Culpeper and one Hugh Stanlowe are mentioned as riding with the receiver and steward, twenty valets "de vestura domini", and servants, to the total of sixty persons, to Writtle via Gravesend with Stafford to meet Henry VI on his return to London from a pilgrimage to Walsingham.⁵ Stafford seems to have relied mainly on his estate officers, on his Household and on his livery staff centred on Tonbridge for his influence in Kent and Surrey, and in the 1450s both important offices of steward and receiver were held by men from Staffordshire. In 1460, his men seem to have been powerless to rally support for Henry VI there, or to prevent Kentishmen from flocking to join the three Earls.

1. SRO D641/1/2/233mld.

2. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 86; SRO D641/1/2/234m2.

3. BM Add. Roll 5962; SRO D641/1/2/19m5.

4. SRO D641/1/2/18m5.

5. SRO D641/1/2/233m2d.

Most annuities from the receiverships were paid by the receivers of Staffordshire and Gloucestershire. A large number were paid in Staffordshire and this is hardly surprising in view of the fact that a large number of retainers came from this and adjacent counties in the heartlands of the old Stafford territorial influence. Until the 1440s, Stafford was still paying two annuities, of five marks each, to men who had been retained by his father, who died in 1403. His own annuitants included three members of the Barbour family, Hugh Calverley, a veteran of the French wars, John Hampton, the Egertons of Wrimehall, both father and son, Ralph Basset, Nicholas Longford, Henry Bradbury, John Cokeyn, Richard Bagot, William Garnet, Ralph Vickers, Ralph Pole, William Needham and William Cumberford, all members of local influential families or useful lawyers in his council. A number of Household officers also received annuities from the Stafford receiver—a cither player, a minstrel, trumpeters, a smith and a carpenter. The smith, Richard Fourbour, retained from 1455, was the only annuitant to be retained in 1460-61, after Stafford's death.¹ The other annuities lapsed, although many were later renewed, with payment of arrears, by Stafford's widow.² The amount spent on retaining fees in 1437-38, which includes those of two parkers later transferred to manorial accounts, was £26.14.8. In 1442-43 the bill was £51.13.4, in 1454-55 £74 and in 1457-58 £56.³ Stafford recruited a large number of retainers here in the early 1440s, but it does not appear that he was doing so from 1457 onwards, the last years before the battle of Northampton.

The largest annuity paid in Gloucestershire was the £100 to Stafford's wife from 1449.⁴ The fees to the receiver and steward, as

1. SRO D641/1/2/63m10.

2. SRO D641/1/2/66m1.

3. PRO SC6 988/12m10; SRO D641/1/2/54mm9-9d; /62mm11-11d.

4. SRO D641/1/2/175m8d.

has already been mentioned, would appear to be annuities rather than wages for their work, especially as Nicholas Poyntz continued to receive his after leaving office in 1454. Two annuitants of Anne Stafford were retained by Stafford, John Slehurst, a former parker of Haresfield, and John Andreux, her former attorney at Westminster. Other annuitants included John Hody, a lawyer, William Palmer, one of Anne Stafford's executors, John Hanford, John Savage, Hugh Venables, Robert Grosvenor, Thomas Young and Richard Chokke, both lawyers, and Thomas Delamare. The fee of £26.6.8 to Sir Humfrey Stafford of Grafton, Stafford's Lieutenant in Calais, was paid from the revenues of this receivership from 1445 to 1450.¹ The 1459-60 account is the last for Stafford as lord of the Gloucestershire receivership; he died on 10 July 1460 and so annuities were only paid for the Easter term of that year since Stafford was dead by the Michaelmas day of payment. Estate officials were paid up to 10 July on the account, and they presented a petition to the auditor for full payment for the year. This was allowed by the auditor and a further instalment of wages, from 11 July to Michaelmas 1460, was made.² Here, as in Staffordshire, in the last years of his life Stafford appears to have made no effort to recruit retainers, at least as far as can be seen from the Gloucester receiver's last accounts. Retaining fees are paid in 1458-59 to Poyntz, Mille and Andreux, Robert Grosvenor, Thomas Young, Richard Chokke and Thomas Edmund, his physician.³ For 1459-60 they were paid to Mille, Thomas Young and Richard Chokke only, though Poyntz and Andreux had died during the time of this account. Further discussion of Stafford's retainers, their fees and their influence is contained in later chapters.⁴

1. SRO D641/1/2/173m9.

2. PRO SC6 1117/10m9.

3. SRO D641/1/2/180m1.

4. Below, Chapters IX and X, passim.

In some receiverships there were a variety of miscellaneous expenses, some permanent and some incidental, which had to be allowed for before the surplus cash was forwarded to Stafford himself. Alms-giving was one of the fixed miscellaneous expenses, but occurs on very few receivers' accounts. As has been said before, if Stafford did devote any considerable amounts to alms-giving, it was from his own privy purse. In Brecon the receiver paid 10s. per annum to the Prior and convent of the Friars Preachers of Brecon, to keep a light burning before the High Altar,¹ and the Kent and Surrey receivership from 1434 bore the cost of a cask of wine, or ten marks in lieu, from the manor of Blechingley to the Abbey and convent of St. Salvator and Saints Mary and Bridget of Syon, that Stafford, his wife and their offspring be mentioned in the daily and nightly offices. In 1445-46, these alms cost him £5.13.4 and in 1454-55, £6.² The wine seems not to have been bought in 1447-48. The 100s. granted to the Prior at Beverley in 1447-48 which the receiver of Holderness paid for the celebration of 1000 masses for Stafford's safe journey to Calais was probably an isolated charge for this special occasion.³ A fixed charge on the Kent receivership was the payment of 10s. castle-ward every thirty-two weeks for Dover Castle. In some years it might have to be paid twice, in others only once. It was paid from the revenues of this receivership although in fact it was to be paid for Stafford's tenure of the manor of Little Brickhill in Buckinghamshire.⁴

Other necessary and foreign expenses paid by the receivers covered a great variety of items, and a selection of the most typical, as well

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1. SRO D641/1/2/19m1; /22m2; CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m8.
 2. SRO D641/1/2/233m2; /19m6; /22m6.
 3. SRO D641/1/2/19m5.
 4. SRO D641/1/2/233m2.

as a few of the more unusual may be quoted, with no special emphasis on any receivership or on the cost of the item. On his 1428-30 account, the receiver of Kent is seen being put to considerable work in organizing the castle for the arrival of Stafford and his wife, having rooms in the castle cleaned, the garden tidied, stones cleared from around the kitchen entrance, rails cut for fencing in the park, straw carried for mattresses, mud cleared from the royal highway leading to the castle, wine obtained from London, by river to Newhithe and thence by cart to Tonbridge, the stables cleaned and two herring barrels obtained for carrying water into the kitchen. On the same account, the receiver paid a mercer of London for twelve beds, three for gentlemen and nine for valets of the London Household, each containing a mattress, a pair of sheets, two blankets and a red worsted coverlet, and each costing, on average, 17s.5d.¹

In 1442-43, the Stafford receiver paid out £18.18.3 for the expenses of Thomas Macclesfield, living (and dying) at Stafford at Stafford's expense, and for the cost of his burial there.² The same receiver had, in 1437-38, paid out for the costs of two pairs of boots and half a yard of cloth for "sleeves" for John Culpeper, six yards of white frieze for a cloak for Thomas Wisbech, a prisoner at Eccleshall, and also for linen for him, while the Receiver-General was charged with the cost of a charter of royal pardon for Wisbech, who had been convicted for a felony.³ Other items bought by the Stafford receiver included boots for a groom in 1455-56, and in 1445-46 John Painter of Walsall was paid 7s.4d. in compensation for the destruction and loss of 44 lb. of

1. SRO D641/1/2/231m10.

2. SRO D641/1/2/54m10.

3. PRO SC6 988/12m12; SRO D641/1/2/15m7.

plate and other vessels of his stock in the lord's Household.¹ The receiver of Kent, on the order of Stafford's council, spent 19s.4d. on a pair of balances and weights for the assize of bread in Tonbridge.² In Cause in 1454-55, David Lloyd ap Griffith was paid £2 reward for keeping the tenants of the lordship free from "robry and pillage of thefes".³

On every Receiver-General's account there is a charge for boots and shoes for the children bought by the mistress of the nursery. In 1444-45, he bought half a ton of iron, and in 1449-50, 103 lb. of gunpowder and two barrels for it, for the defences of Maxstoke Castle. In 1450-51, he paid Richard Gardiner 5s. for riding from London to Maxstoke to inform Stafford of what rumours were abroad in London at that time.⁴

The Gloucester receiver in 1445-46 paid 13s.4d. to John Writer of Bristol for copying out a missal, over and above the 46s.8d. paid on the previous account, and he paid Richard Lymner of Bristol 8s.4d. for illuminating a Book of Hours for the Lady Anne, at the rate of 1s.3d. for illuminating the capital letters of each folio in gold, and 7d. for the same letters. Lymner had also received 46s.8d. in payment on the previous account.⁵ In 1447-48 John Writer was still apparently copying the missal, at a rate of 3s.4d. for each quire of paper, his bill this year being £7.3.4. £1.9.4 was spent on twenty-two quires of vellum, with a further £6.6.8. spent on various materials for the illuminating of the said missal by Richard Burnive of Bristol, the mayor of Bristol

1. SRO D641/1/2/60m10; /56m11.

2. SRO D641/1/2/231m8.

3. SRO D641/1/2/22m5.

4. SRO D641/1/2/18m7; /21m7; PRO SC6 1305/4m5.

5. SRO D641/1/2/172m7.

standing surety for Burnive that he would not squander the money nor abscond with it.¹ In 1451-52, the receiver was again paying John Writer, this time for copying out an antiphony.² The Gloucester receiver's accounts are the only ones on which are to be found any details of Stafford's literary interests — if they may be called that.

In 1449-50, John Fourbour was paid 4s. for cleaning various pieces of armour in Brecon Castle and, also in Brecon, Howell ap David was, by custom, allowed half the 20s. fine for the capture of David ap Ieuan Vaughn there in 1447-48.³ The Newport receiver paid 3s.4d. in 1454-55 to a shipwright from Bristol for travelling up from Bristol to talk to the receiver and steward about making a new carvel for Stafford.⁴ On the Kent account for 1428-30, payment was made for two tanned and two untanned skins, and for canvas for Stafford's carriages, while the Receiver-General in 1444-45 paid for a large rope for Stafford's barge.⁵ These, then, are just a few of the examples of the items the receivers were buying or paying for on Stafford's behalf, and just a few of the multitudinous expenses of a fifteenth-century magnate.

In addition to these charges there were also charges incurred when the receiver or steward was engaged in the third aspect of his work for Stafford, acting as his representative in the county, on work which had little direct relevance to his work as an estate official. This work will be considered in Chapters IX and X, together with the work, influence and personalities of Stafford's retainers.

The final part of a receiver's work was the handing over of the

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1. SRO D641/1/2/19m3.
 2. SRO D641/1/2/175m9.
 3. SRO D641/1/2/20m1; /19m1.
 4. SRO D641/1/2/22m1.
 5. SRO D641/1/2/231m8; /18m7.

surplus revenue from their area to Stafford himself. Here again the characteristics of the various receiverships can be seen. The Stafford receiver was heavily burdened with livery charges and annuities and in most years no margin of profit was left for Stafford. In 1437-38, when the receiver still accounted to the Receiver-General, £304.10.10¹ went to him, assigned mainly for Household expenses,¹ for before Maxstoke was acquired, Stafford Castle was probably the main centre for the Household. In 1442-43, £111.5.7¹ went to the Receiver-General, but thereafter only small payments were made to the Receiver-General for Household expenses — only £1.12s. in 1445-46 for example.² In 1449-50, £20 was paid to Stafford himself at Leicester, and in 1450-51, £148.16.6¹, a bonus, which was the arrears of Humphrey Cotes, the former receiver.³ No other payment to Stafford from this receivership is recorded.

The situation in Kent and Surrey was similar. All revenue was assigned, mainly on livery charges and repairs, but with smaller amounts for creditors, annuities, minor Household expenses and miscellaneous expenses. Again, there was no surplus for Stafford's privy purse. The burden of payments in Cause was spread fairly evenly over fees and annuities, Household expenses, repairs and bills to creditors, with a small surplus. Cause was not a wealthy lordship and all of these payments were on a minor scale compared to other receiverships. In 1447-48 Stafford was sent £18.6.8, in 1449-50 £45 and in 1454-55 £33.6.8.⁴ There is only one account for Holderness, the wealthiest English receivership. Holderness had its share of repairs, fees, annuities and Household expenses, but also over £400 assigned to pay

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1. PRO SC6 988/12m12.
 2. SRO D641/1/2/54m10; /56m11.
 3. SRO D641/1/2/20m3; /57m12.
 4. SRO D641/1/2/19m7; /20m2; /22m5.

creditors, and was still able to send nearly £180 in cash to Stafford.¹

Gloucestershire and the two adjacent counties which made up the receivership, while not bearing any repair costs, sent £100 to Stafford's wife after 1449, and usually between £200 and £250 to Stafford himself. The annuities, fees and Household expenses were, however, slightly lower in proportion to its total revenue than in other receiverships. The largest sources of ready cash for Stafford were his wealthy Marcher lordships of Newport and Brecon, and all the indications are that this was deliberate policy. Neither was burdened by heavy annuity fees or payments to creditors, the greatest drain on the profits of a receivership once the fixed charges of fees, wages and repairs had been met. Newport did have quite heavy bills for repairs, but these were for rebuilding the castle, a deliberate programme. Neither shared to any notable extent the Household expenses. In 1447-48, Newport was able to send £233.12.8 to Stafford and in 1449-50, £389. In the early 1450s there were difficulties in both lordships over the collection of the fines for the Great Sessions, which affected Stafford's own income very badly. Only £90 was sent from Newport in 1451-52 but in 1456-57 the amount had improved — £246.13.4.² T.B. Pugh calculates, however, that between 1450 and 1456 the loss to Stafford from fines of the Great Sessions revenues here was over £900.³ In 1447-48 Brecon sent £639.2.5 to Stafford as well as 100 marks to his wife. It no longer had to pay this money to his wife after 1449 but suffered even more than Newport from loss of revenue from the Great Sessions fines. In 1449-50 the receiver sent £118.13.4 to Stafford; in 1453-54 he managed to send £293.6.8 and in 1454-55 only £221.13.4.⁴

1. SRO D641/1/2/19m5.

2. SRO D641/1/2/19m2; /20m5; PRO SC6 924/24m8d; /25m11.

3. Pugh, Marcher Lordships of South Wales, p. 175.

4. SRO D641/1/2/19m1; /20m1; CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m8; SRO D641/1/2/22m2.

Finally, there were the payments to Stafford from his Receiver-General, and again there was a change in financial policy in this period concerning this payment. The Receiver-General's income was the largest of all the receiverships, but he was heavily burdened by fees of the Household staff and, increasingly, by assigned payments to creditors for Household expenses. On the other hand, he paid few annuities and had no repair charges. Payments to Stafford dropped sharply during the period 1439-57, probably because the Receiver-General's own income fell through a fall in manorial revenue and the building up of arrears and of items in respite, and through the loss of the £100 in fee-farms. Also it was found quicker and easier for the Receiver-General rather than Stafford to meet payments to creditors. In 1438-39, £804 was paid direct to Stafford. In 1449-50 he received only £573 and in 1456-57 only £474.12.4.¹

It has already been mentioned that the receivers or members of their staffs travelled to deliver the money to Stafford himself, claiming expenses for their journeys on their accounts. These meetings of course afforded opportunities to discuss estate and other business. The receivers obtained indented bills from Stafford as receipts for payment, which were sealed with his own seal, or "signed" by his hand, which may mean no more than that his seal was affixed to the bill.

There remains still to be considered the Dover receivership, which does not fit into the general pattern of the other receiverships. From 1450, Stafford was Constable of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports and he set up a receivership at Dover to deal with the revenues and expenses of these offices. The revenue came not from manors and boroughs but from various miscellaneous and official sources.

1. SRO D641/1/2/15m8; /21m9; /23m9.

The post of Constable carried a salary of £300 per annum made up of £146 in castle-ward payments, £87.6.8 from the fee-farm of Southampton, £35.34 fee farm of Hereford and £31.10s. from the fee-farms of Westcombe and West Bedwind boroughs in Wiltshire.¹ Castle ward was thus the largest single item of revenue, for originally the duties of the office were purely military, and one of the conditions of the feudal tenure of certain lands was the provision of a knight for castle-guard for a specified period. A fixed commuted payment was substituted fairly quickly as being easier and more convenient to exact and, as previously mentioned, Stafford himself paid 10s. as a commuted payment for providing a knight from Little Brickhill manor for thirty-two weeks in a year at Dover Castle. In addition to castle wards and fee-farms there were various perquisites of office, including revenue obtained from the right of agistment of animals inside and outside the castle, which was farmed to the receiver for £3 per annum, although the rector of the castle church took his tithe. On 1 August each year, the burgesses of Faversham rendered their customary payment, once given in fish, now a money payment. Distraints of cattle taken because they were not penned up at night, profits from fines of the court of the Admiralty, wrecks from the sea, fines for safe conduct overseas, forfeited boats or balingers or other forfeited goods and chattels and fines from watchmen caught sleeping at their posts at night were all miscellaneous, though hardly profitable, sources of income in this receivership.² For example, the Constable was responsible for the discipline of the castle and ports, with authority to deal even with serious cases. He presided over the Court Baron and court of wards,

1. Cal. Close Rolls 1447-54, p. 459.

2. SRO D641/1/2/238ml.

and judgements in this court could be enforced in any part of England against those holding lands originally granted for the defence of the castle. Perquisites of the Court of the Admiralty for 1459-60 were, however, worth only 1s.8d.¹ None of the other sources of income, with the exception of the agistments, brought in any revenue this year.

As an office of profit, the Constablenesship of Dover was a hopeless proposition. In September 1455, the total charge was £842.1.1, of which £350.11.5½ represented income and over £491 arrears.² By September 1458, arrears were £815.17.2½ and income only £234.1.6. The reason for this was that the major part of the fee-farms, Southampton's £37.6.8, was never paid throughout this period and that from Hereford was not paid after 1456. The mayor and jurators of Faversham also failed to make any of their payments of £13.6.8 per annum, as did the Bodar, who, it appears, was bailiff of the courts of the Constable and Warden. In addition, the previous receiver still owed £7.18.5½ in arrears. In September 1458, Thomas Hexstall's own arrears as receiver were only £49.10.8¼, but of this no more than £16.19.8¼ was in his hands. The remainder was yet to be collected from various debtors.³

From the revenues which he was able to collect, the receiver had to meet two major charges. The first was the payment to Stafford of the £31.10s. fee-farms from Westcombe and West Bedwind which seem always to have been collected, these being Stafford's own boroughs. Whatever else remained of revenue after this payment was devoted to the heavy costs of wages and fees for the castle staff. Stafford held his office by deputy, who had to reside in person and who received £40 per

1. SRO D641/1/2/238m1.

2. SRO D641/1/2/22m7.

3. SRO D641/2/237.

annum. On none of the declared accounts after 1456 does the Lieutenant receive full payment. He received £28.3.4¹/₂ for that, and previous years' wages, £10 only for 1457-58 and £4 for 1459-60.¹ There were also a steward, warrener and bodar to be paid, each at £9.2s. per annum, a marshall in charge of the castle prison and watches, at £6.1.4 per annum, Keepers of the Dungeon and of the Artillery, and four janitors, each at £4.11s., a carpenter and plumber at £1.10.4 each, twelve watchmen at a total of £36.8s. annually, and two chief watchmen at 6s.6d. each, with bonuses of 6s.6d. each as well. The rector of the parish church within the castle received £4, and an annuity of £6, and the chaplain had £6.13.4. In addition to these wages, the rector, marshall, warrener, bodar, the six servants and twelve watchmen had an annual customary payment of 13s.4d. each, and the steward, marshall, bodar and six others received a winter clothes allowance of 10s. each, the twelve watchmen 6s.8d. each, and 10s. each to the rector and chaplain. The receiver also paid 6s.8d. to the chief watchmen but this was always disallowed on his account as he had no warrant to do so. A further 6s.8d. was paid to the clerk of accounts and 2s. per annum was spent on the Easter candles. No mention is made on any account of a payment to the receiver himself for his fee.

There were obviously various miscellaneous costs and expenses in addition to these main items, but few details are given on the accounts. The only form of account which does survive for this receivership is the declared account which is essentially a very brief statement. £3.10s. allowance was made to the receiver for various unspecified costs and payments for which payment was being sought in 1456-57, but no details are given. In 1454-55, £17.11.1 was allowed for unspecified

1. SRO D641/1/2/236m1; /237m1; /238.

foreign expenses, and the 1459-60 account mentions an allowance to the receiver for his great work and expenses at the time of drawing up the account, for collecting the moneys.¹ Expenses were also allowed to the Lieutenant for riding to Romney and other places for the fines of the sessions of the Admiralty Court. Obviously, the greatest amount of work involved was in the collection of such revenue as could be collected, and the main expenditure was in seeing that the staff were paid. It would appear that Dover was not used at all in the same capacity as the other receiverships, that it formed an entity in itself, more or less divorced from the administration of the estates, and that the paucity of revenues of the office allowed no leeway to Stafford for foreign or miscellaneous expenses or for self-enrichment.

1. SRO D641/1/2/236ml; /237ml; /238.

CHAPTER EIGHT

VIII

CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION:

THE RECEIVER-GENERAL AND AUDITORS

The Receiver-General emerged on the Duchy of Lancaster estates in the mid-fourteenth century. "The chief financial and accounting officer, he provided the link between the local and household officials."¹ On the Stafford estates, where the administrative organization closely resembled that of the Duchy, he is seen holding a similar position in an account for 1391-92 of Earl Thomas's estates.² There were then four local receiverships, all accountable to the Receiver-General for their surplus revenue, as were the manorial officials on the Stafford estates in central and eastern England, the area over which the Receiver-General exercised the same direct administrative control as the local receivers had done in their own areas. From the revenues thus collected, the Receiver-general answered for a wide variety of disbursements, from the current payment to Richard II for the earl's marriage³ to household fees and wages, expenses of the council in London between March and June to arrange the marriage of the earl to Thomas of Gloucester's daughter, alms, travelling expenses, fees for writs and law-suits, payments of debts, the buying of horses, and a large variety of other necessary expenses which included the purchase of a harp, five gold rings, cloth of gold, and the fee of a doctor to attend on the earl and

1. Somerville, The Duchy of Lancaster, p. 100.

2. SRO D641/1/2/4, account of Nicholas Bradshawe, Receiver-General of Thomas, Earl of Stafford.

3. Above, p. 11.

heal his arm.¹ The Receiver-General, obviously responsible for the collection of all surplus profits from the estates, met a large proportion of the earl's expenses, but as there are no contemporary receivers' accounts, we do not know what proportion of costs were met at a local level, nor the degree of independence obtained by local receivers. It appears likely that some costs were met in the receiverships, but also that there was a strong degree of centralised control under the Receiver-General. His position vis-à-vis the local receivers was to alter a great deal by the mid-fifteenth century.

From 1403 until 1423, there was no continuity of administration on the Stafford estates as such because of the long minority of Humfrey Stafford. His mother, Anne, countess of Stafford, controlled the lands from two dowers from her Stafford marriages as well as her own Bohun and Woodstock inheritances, and these estates were under the control of Thomas Laurence, formerly Receiver-General to Edmund, earl of Stafford (d. 1403). The majority of her estates accounted directly to Laurence and the two receiverships of Kent and Surrey and of Huntingdon in the Welsh march were also accountable to him.² The 1421 partition of the Bohun inheritance between Anne and Henry V brought her the lordships of Brecon and Hay, as well as various English manors, in exchange for Caldicote, in the Welsh march, and Pleshy Castle and manor and other manors in central England.³ Brecon and Hay lordships now became her third local receivership, but on the 1430-31 account Laurence says that he was not receiving revenue from these estates but that it was being delivered, as he supposed, direct to the countess.⁴ By 1432, at least,

1. SRO D641/1/2/4m6.

2. SRO D641/1/2/7, 8, 9, 10: Laurence's accounts as Receiver-General between 1406 and 1411.

3. Above, pp. 46-48.

4. SRO D641/1/2/12m1.

Anne had also recovered Holderness lordship in Yorkshire, inherited from her father, and this probably constituted a fourth receivership but, like Brecon, accounting directly to Anne Stafford. It appears on none of her Receiver-General's accounts which have survived, nor on the valor of 1434-35 which, as a survey of the lands accountable to the Receiver-General, also omits the Welsh lordships of Brecon, Hay and Huntingdon.¹ On the Receiver-General's own account for this year, the entry for Huntingdon records only the payment of ministers' arrears of £5 by the bailiff of the Englishry,² and Huntingdon may already have ceased to be a separate receivership and have been united with Brecon and Hay, as it certainly was under Humfrey Stafford.

Thus, under Anne Stafford, it was already not unusual to find estates remaining outwith the jurisdiction of the Receiver-General, although he remained at the centre of the estate administration. Although, in general, the receivership system meant the unification and absorption of different inheritances within one central organization, its basis was its adaptability to geographical and administrative convenience, in every case. On the Beauchamp estates until 1422, the greater part of the Berkeley and Lisle lands of Elizabeth Berkeley retained a separate identity under their own receiver, who paid most of his receipts, not to the Receiver-General of her husband, Richard of Warwick, but direct to the Keeper of the Countess's Household.³ Similarly, Brecon and Holderness retained their separate identities on

1. PRO SC11/816. "Les values des toutz les manoirs et seigneuries de ma treshonure et tres souveraine dame, dame Anne Comitesse de Stafforld, Buk, Northampton et Hereford et dame de Brekenoc et Holdernes desubz la receite de Thomas Laurence, General Recepteur de ma dite Dame, compiles sur la terminacion daccoutes de toutz ces ministres" (ml).

2. SRO D641/1/2/14ml.

3. Ross, The Estates and Finances of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, pp. 6-7.

Anne Stafford's estates, probably because they were peripheral lordships, rather than as a deliberate policy. Oakham lordship, like Holderness part of the Woodstock inheritance and occupying a central position, was immediately absorbed into the Receiver-General's area.

Under Humfrey Stafford, as heir to his father and mother's widespread estates, there was a decline in the position and importance of the Receiver-General as the financial pivot of the estate organization. His Receiver-General from 1423-1437 was Thomas Barbour of Stafford, member of a family which produced several generations of servants for the House of Stafford.¹ During this period until 1437, as has already been described,² there were local receiverships for Staffordshire, Kent and Surrey and the lordships of Cause and Newport, with the receivers of each of these areas except Newport accounting to the Receiver-General, while Cause was for a time under his direct administration. The receiver of Newport, according to his account for 1433-34, accounted directly to Stafford for his surplus revenue.³ As before, the Receiver-General himself was responsible for a large number of estates in central and eastern England.

In April 1437, Barbour was replaced by John Heaton of Newton Blossomville in Buckinghamshire, and remained in office until c.1467, serving Anne, duchess of Buckingham, as Receiver-General and steward of the Great Household after Stafford's death. Newton Blossomville was a Stafford manor but nothing is known of John Heaton's introduction to and early career in Stafford's service. At the head of his accounts he is described as Stafford's Receiver-General "de omnibus castris

1. Wedgwood, Parliamentary History of Staffordshire, pp. 160, 218 (William Barbour), 237 (John Barbour).

2. Above, pp. 164-167.

3. Glam. R.O. D/DCM/45.

maneriis et dominiis suis tam in Anglia quam in Wallia",¹ a description already inaccurate in 1437, as the Newport receiver was already by-passing the Receiver-General and accounting direct to Stafford.

The 1438-39 Receiver-General's account is the earliest one to survive for Stafford's central administration and he had, during this year, received livery of his mother's estates. The account shows the receiverships for Cause, Stafford, Kent and Surrey and Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Hampshire delivering their surplus revenue to the Receiver-General after the receivers had made their own local payments, with the receivership of Newport continuing to account to Stafford.²

There is no mention, even as a nil return as in the case of Newport, of a receivership in Brecon although there was obviously some organization there continuing from his mother's administration. The account, under the heading "Foreign payments and necessary expenses", contains an entry for the expenses of David de Garderobe, travelling from Kymbolton to Brecon to tell the receiver there to levy and collect his dues.³ These, together with other monies, the Receiver-General took over to Calais to deliver to Stafford who was there as a royal ambassador at the negotiations for a truce. The lordship of Holderness does not appear on this account, but it was not recovered from the king's hands until mid-August of that year.

By the time of the next surviving account, for 1444-45, all seven receiverships are entered as nil returns in the Receiver-General's charge, for all now accounted direct to Stafford.⁴ The accountant of Callington

1. SRO D641/1/2/15m1.

2. SRO D641/1/2/15m5. "Newport in Wallia — De aliquibus denariis per ipsum receptis de exitibus sive proficuis dominiij predicti per tempus predictum non respondet eo quod nulli denarij per idem tempus ibidem recepit pro eo quod responsum est domino de exitibus eiusdem dominiij ad manua suas proprias per Thomam Leny, receptorem ibid ut patet per compotum suum de hoc anno."

3. SRO D641/1/2/15m7.

4. SRO D641/1/2/18m5.

manor in Cornwall, Edward Ashton, who did account to the Receiver-General, is referred to as receiver here, but this was obviously not a receivership in the same sense as the others, for Stafford held only this one manor in Cornwall and it was neither large nor wealthy, its value in terms of revenue delivered to the Receiver-General ranging from £16 in 1438-39 to £32.3.9 in 1449-50 and £15.8.5 in 1456-57.¹ On the 1444-45 account, and on all subsequent accounts which survive with Heaton as Receiver-General, there appears an entry for the non-existent receivership of Cantref Selyf, Bronllys and Talgarth which has already been mentioned in a previous chapter,² as an error on the part of the clerk writing out the account, perpetuated year after year, from account to account.

On all later accounts, the receivers continue the practice of accounting directly to Stafford, although on the 1450-51 account a payment of £30.4.4 was made to the Receiver-General by the Gloucester receiver.³ This was only a very small proportion of the surplus profits of the receivership, representing the issues only of Petersfield and Mapledurham in Hampshire, and Westcombe and Cornhampton in Wiltshire. It is likely that the receiver also made his usual payments directly to Stafford, unless, as seems rather unlikely, there was any unusually large local expenditure which would have absorbed the surplus profit. This payment on the Receiver-General's account was perhaps an assigned payment for Household expenses.

The last receivership to be established, at Dover in 1450, never appears at all on the Receiver-General's account, even as a nil return, and in fact the only issues from this receivership which were paid to

1. SRO D641/1/2/15m5; /21m5; "23m5. No manorial accounts survive.

2. Above, p. 178.

3. PRO SC6 1305/4m4.

Stafford, was the £31.10s. fee-farm payment from West Bedwind paid him by the sheriff of Wiltshire.¹ The practice of the receivers being responsible only to Stafford himself was by now firmly established; the nil return entries on the account for the other receiverships were probably just another example of how entries on the accounts became formalized and fossilized.

By the early 1440s therefore, the Receiver-General was ceasing to have financial authority over the other receiverships, and it is doubtful whether he ever had a commission for any other jurisdiction. There is no indication that he was occupied in a supervisory capacity like the Beauchamp Receiver-General.² His own accounts contain no references to the affairs of the other receiverships, and from the local receivers' accounts themselves one would get very little idea of the existence of a Receiver-General, far less of his function and place in the administration. He was certainly never remunerated as a supervisor or controller of all the estates, his fee being no higher than average for a receiver — that is, ten marks per annum, although in 1445 he was granted an additional allowance of five marks, bringing his yearly salary to £10.³ This was still only on a par with that of Treasurer of the Household, and only half that of the auditor. His daily expenses were, however, the same as those allowed to the auditor, 3s.4d. as opposed to the 2s. allowance of the local receivers.

The decline in his position as chief financial officer can probably be accounted for by several factors, the chief relating to efficiency and convenience of administration. The increase in the size of the estates after 1438, in the scope of work and amount of business, in the

1. Above, p. 233.

2. Ross, Estates and Finances of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, p. 7.

3. SRO D641/1/2/21m9.

size of the sums of money involved, was beyond the capabilities of any one man unless the financial machine was to become unbearably cumbersome and slow. The receivers had been responsible for purely local charges and expenditure before the central audit took place, a system which had worked very efficiently and was now probably considered suitable for development and expansion by means of assigned payment by warrant from Stafford on items like Household expenses and retaining fees. There was also another factor which undermined the Receiver-General's position. While great and lesser landlords were involved in affairs abroad, it had been convenient and necessary to be able to collect revenue at a central point for dispatch overseas. In 1439, while Stafford was in France, during the summer, the Receiver-General, at Kymbolton with the Household, collected revenues, notably from Brecon,¹ and crossed with them to Stafford in Calais. From 1439 onwards, notwithstanding the fact that he was Captain of Calais from 1442 to 1450, Stafford was out of England very rarely. With a deputy to fill his office in Calais, he was free to concentrate on English affairs, and was as easily accessible to his receivers as the Receiver-General had previously been. It was quicker and easier to deliver surplus profits to him directly than to pay them via the Receiver-General. The position of the Receiver-General as a central clearing-house for the issues of the estates thus declined rapidly, and the receiverships became autonomous financial units, with the Receiver-General in most respects merely a primus inter pares. The same process was at work on other estates, to a greater or lesser extent. Richard of York's receiverships were likewise independent units, responsible individually to the central auditor,² while the office of Receiver-General on the Grey of Ruthin

1. Above, p. 176.

2. Rosenthal, "The estates and finances of Richard, Duke of York," p. 169.

estates disappears completely after 1449.¹

It must, however, be remembered that despite this decline in his position vis-à-vis the other receiverships, the Receiver-General was directly responsible for the administration of a wide area of central and eastern England, and was charged with the collection and disbursement of large sums of money each year. In terms of area and value, his receivership was greater than that of any other receiver, for it covered the counties of Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Rutland, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Cornwall. There must have been some reason why Callington manor in Cornwall remained attached to the Receiver-General's area, for the more convenient arrangement surely would have been that it should become part of the neighbouring receivership of Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Hampshire.² In 1438, Stafford was granted two-thirds of the farm and the reversion of the manor of Netherwiresdale in Lancashire,³ which was also included in the Receiver-General's area. As this was a Duchy of Lancaster manor, the farm may have been payable through Duchy officials in London, for otherwise the more convenient arrangement again would have been to attach the manor to the nearest receivership of Staffordshire and the Stafford lands in Cheshire. The Receiver-General's area covered the main centres of the Household, Maxstoke Castle in Warwickshire, and Writtle manor in Essex, as well as the London house, the hospice of St. Helens. The site of this house is unknown and it may have been with other Stafford tenements around Bread Street in the city, or within the parish of St. George in Southwark, in both of which neighbourhoods Stafford held lands. The

1. Jack, The Lords Grey of Ruthin, pp. 311-12.

2. There is no record on any of his surviving accounts of the Receiver-General or auditor visiting this manor.

3. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1436-41, pp. 161, 275.

central Treasury, the repository of the most important estate records and documents, and perhaps the storehouse for the Receiver-General's own accounts, valors and records like copies of indentures, fines, warrants and all legal evidences, was in London also. In June 1450, for example, the auditor was paid expenses for waiting on in London for eight days to examine various accounts of ministers of all lordships in England and Wales, and to examine sundry old accounts in the Treasury.¹

Besides collecting revenues from the manors and boroughs within his area, the Receiver-General also collected the fee-farms from the sheriffs of various counties. After 1438, he received £20 from the fee-farm of Buckinghamshire, granted to his grandfather, Thomas of Woodstock, created earl of Buckingham in 1371, £20 each from the fee-farms of Northamptonshire and Herefordshire, hereditary in the Bohun family and granted to Anne, countess of Stafford, in 1421. On his own elevation to the dukedom of Buckinghamshire in 1444, he was granted £20 each from Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, bringing his total income from fee-farms to £100 per annum. Copies of acquittances dating from the early 1440s are to be found as receipts for payment among Stafford records in the Redd Book of Caus. For November 2 1440, the acquittance reads for Buckinghamshire:

Noverint universi per presentes nos Humfridus Counte de Buk, Hereford, Stafford, Northampton' et Perche, filium et heredem Anne, filie et heredis Thome nuper ducis Gloucestrie, Counte de Buk et Constable Anglie recepissee etc. de Waltero Strikeland esq. vicecomite comitatis Buk £20 sterlingorum de exitibus officij sui nobis debitorum de quibus et fatemur etc.²

For the fee-farms of Northamptonshire and Herefordshire, he describes himself as:

... filium et heredem Anne, filie et heredis Alianore une filiarum et heredum Humfridi de Bohune, nuper comite Herefordie et Northampton.

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1. SRO D641/1/2/21m7.
 2. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 36.

Payment of the feefarms was suspended from 1448 because of the financial difficulties of the government, and by Michaelmas 1457 the arrears on the Receiver-General's account totalled £1,000.¹

The Receiver-General was the central financial officer for his area, but there was no corresponding chief steward for judicial matters, the area being divided among a number of stewards. The usual divisions were along county lines, but occasionally manors in one county were under different stewards. In Warwickshire, there was a steward for Maxstoke, one for Tyso and Rugby and one for Atherstone.² Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk each had their own stewards, the steward for Suffolk usually being referred to as the steward of Desenyng.³ There were also stewards for Northamptonshire, referred to on some accounts as the steward of Rothwell, and for Buckinghamshire; Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire were united under one steward. There were originally separate stewards for Oakham in Rutland and for Colston Bassett and Radcliffe in Nottinghamshire, but in 1440 these two offices were combined in one man, William Heaton of Oakham.⁴ He remained in office until c.1449, when it appears that the two counties were again separated under different stewards, William Clerk for Nottinghamshire and Robert Fenne for Rutland.⁵ In Cornwall, the steward of Callington manor was the manorial accountant, the "receiver". The Receiver-General's area was

1. SRO D641/1/2/23m10.

2. Maxstoke: William Draycote, appointed 5 October 1445 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 81). Tyso and Rugby: John Harper, from November 1438 until at least 1460 (SRO D641/1/2/270m4d). Atherstone: Thomas Arblaster, from 2 May 1438 until 1451 when the manor was resumed into royal hands (SRO D641/1/2/269m2d).

3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fos. 23, 39, 52.

4. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 23; Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 441.

5. Ibid., pp. 193, 317.

6. Nicholas Ashton of Callington, a future justice of Common Bench, and his son Edward held these offices in succession. In 1456-57, the steward was a John Arundel (SRO D641/1/2/17m2d; Longleat MS 641lm4d; SRO D641/1/2/23m5).

also divided between various feodaries on very much the same lines, as described in an earlier chapter.¹

To a certain extent, the Receiver-General retained his position as the main link between the Household and the local officials. He was not himself a member of the Household and although he was frequently found with it, in the main Household centres of Writtle or Maxstoke, his own headquarters were probably in London. He lived at Stafford's expense while with the Household, receiving in addition to his annual fee 3s.4d. as daily wages while travelling or while employed elsewhere on Stafford's business. His office does not appear to have been a full-time one, as his expenses are usually paid for him travelling from his home in Buckinghamshire. A John Heaton who was probably the same man, was Receiver-General for Lord Grey of Wilton in 1448.²

The Household organization was quite distinct from the estate administration, although obviously financed from the issues of the estates, and the Receiver-General was responsible for paying the fees and wages of the Household, from the Treasurer, receiving £10 per annum, to the grooms, carpenters and plumbers who received from 40s. to 20s. each per annum. The Household increased in size during this period, from eighty-seven people receiving between them £105 in fees in 1438-39, to one hundred and twenty-eight people receiving £302 in fees in 1456-57.³ The Receiver-General also paid his own fee, half of the auditor's fee, and their daily expenses. This formed a separate item, together with the fees of a clerk of the courts and the keeper of the London house of St. Helens. Expenses of his own members of staff who travelled about collecting rents and arrears, were also paid under the same heading, the

1. Above, pp. 114-116.

2. Wedgwood, *Biographies*, p. 440.

3. SRO D641/1/2/15m6; /23m6.

usual rate of daily expenses being 8d. per day each. These men received their annual wages as members of the Household, however. As the member of the estate staff most closely in touch with the Household, the Receiver-General could most easily pay Household fees and wages, and in the same way the only annuities paid directly by the Receiver-General were to retired or favoured members of the Household like Richard Dounham, Anne Stafford's former Treasurer of the Household, allowed ten marks per annum for life from May 1439 for good and acceptable service to Anne Stafford,¹ and to Katherine Basset, mistress of the nurseries, paid £5 per annum from May 1446 for good and acceptable service.² Members of Stafford's own family also received their annuities from the Receiver-General. John Bouchier, his half-brother, received forty marks from Writtle from 1443, his sister-in-law Mary Neville received £5 from September 1451, and his son £40 per annum during pleasure, from March 1455.³ He did not pay the 100 marks allowance of Stafford's wife however, this being charged on the account of the Brecon receiver in c.1440⁴ and in 1449 increased to £100 per annum and charged on the Gloucester receiver's account.⁵

Daily Household expenses — food, wine, ale, fuel — were paid in three direct ways. Local receivers made small payments to the Treasurer of the Household towards expenses, usually when the Household or part of it, or Stafford's livery, was within their area. The Receiver-General made direct payment to the Treasurer, usually assigned by warrant to cover specific items, and Stafford himself made payments to the Treasurer from his privy purse which were likewise assigned by warrant for specific

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1. SRO D641/1/2/18m6. It was paid on the 1450 account, but not in 1456-57.
 2. SRO D641/1/2/21m7.
 3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fos. 43, 105.
 4. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 25.
 5. SRO D641/1/2/15mm8, 9.

items. In addition, indirect payments were made by Stafford's warrant to the local receivers to pay specified creditors for goods, the creditors themselves having been given letters of credit to that effect. In the course of this period, this indirect method seems to have increased in use and scope. In 1438-39, the year in which the Receiver-General was still receiving issues from the local receivers, he paid £592.8.4 to the Treasurer, and £804.2.5 to Stafford.¹ In 1450-51 he paid £66.13.4 to the Treasurer and £433.13.8 to Stafford,² and in 1456-57 the figures were £11.15.4 to the Treasurer and £474.12.4 to Stafford.³ On the same accounts, warranted payments to creditors rose from £119.18.5 to £418.17.5, to £462.19.9³/₄. As the Household increased in size, its costs spiralled upwards and contributions from local receivers increased, through necessity as much as policy, but the relative importance of the Receiver-General in relation to the Household, which had been his since his emergence as an official in the mid-fourteenth century, was declining almost inevitably in direct conjunction with the decline in his position as chief financial officer, and with the increasing autonomy of the local receiverships.

It has been said that the Receiver-General had no general supervisory powers over the estates as a whole and that, furthermore, his position was declining to that of primus inter pares. The official who was entrusted with such supervisory powers was almost certainly the auditor, for he was the only official who made a regular circuit of all the receiverships (with one possible exception which will be dealt with below), and every estate official who had to present an account, from Receiver-General to tithingman, was answerable to him.

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1. SRO D641/1/2/15mm8, 9.
 2. PRO SC6 1305m6.
 3. SRO D641/1/2/23m9.

Stafford's first auditor was a clerk, Henry Normanton, probably appointed soon after he acquired livery of his estates in 1423.

Normanton was apparently from Derbyshire and was a professional auditor, having been appointed auditor of the royal lands in South Wales in July 1417, his commission being confirmed and renewed by the minority council in February 1423.¹ On 13 March 1435, Stafford appointed a new auditor, a layman, William Weldon of Longford in Herefordshire. Weldon was also a professional auditor, combining his service to Stafford with employment by the king. In May 1437 he was appointed one of the two royal auditors in South Wales, and in 1438 his commission was extended to North Wales, Chester and the lordships of Chirk and Powys.² He remained in Stafford's service until at least 1460 and was still working as a royal auditor in 1465, a career of considerable length. It is not known whether it was the patronage of Stafford which brought him to the attention of the royal administration. It is not unlikely, but obviously Weldon was an extremely active and competent careerist.

He was appointed Stafford's auditor "*ad omnia et singula compota Receptorum, feodariorum, ballivorum, prepositorum et ministrorum quorumcunque tam in Anglia quam in Wallia computabilium existentium audiendum et terminandum*", at a fee of ten marks, with daily expenses of 3s., his fee to be paid on the Receiver-General's account.³ According to entries in the Redd Book of Caus, a journal of transactions relating to the estates between c.1434 and 1454, John Harper of Rushall, Staffordshire, steward of the lands of Anne Stafford since 1428, was acting as an auditor in Wales. The first reference is for c.1437,⁴ and it is uncertain

1. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1416-22, p. 121; 1422-29, p. 54.

2. Ibid. 1436-41, pp. 44, 181, 302.

3. SRO D641/1/2/15m6.

4. NLW Peniarth MS 280, p. 3, no. 18.

exactly where his commission lay, although as he is apparently in Stafford's service by now, the answer would seem to be Newport lordship. The second reference is for c.1440, after Stafford had acquired Brecon, which is where Harper was now working.¹ As a servant of Anne Stafford, he probably knew of her affairs in Brecon, and it may be that he was working there during the initial period of re-organization after her death. There is no further reference to him as an auditor on any other of the surviving records, although after Stafford's death he was made an auditor of the Brecon lordship during the minority of Henry, second duke of Buckingham.² His relationship and status in regard to Weldon's commission of 1435 is obscure. In all surviving accounts, Weldon appears as auditor in the Welsh lordships.

On 1 October 1440, Weldon's fee of ten marks was increased to £20 per annum, with daily expenses of 3s.4d. His commission as auditor of each and every minister's account remained unchanged, but following the death of Anne Stafford, the size and extent of the estates, and the number of ministers, had greatly increased and it may be that Harper also left office as auditor about this time. The increase in Weldon's fee was probably in recognition of the increase in his work. Payment was now divided between the Receiver-General and the Brecon receiver, each paying £10 per annum,³ while the Receiver-General and all local receivers paid a share of the daily expenses according to the length of time he spent in each area. The size of his fee indicates clearly the importance of his position in Stafford's service.

Despite his general commission, Weldon was not responsible for the lordship of Holderness, probably because it was too remote and isolated

1. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 36.

2. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1461-67, p. 91.

3. SRO D641/1/2/18m6; CPL Breconshire Deeds, 4, m8.

from the rest of the estates. A second auditor operated here, perhaps continuing an arrangement made by Anne Stafford as Lady of Holderness, or perhaps as an innovation by Stafford's own administration after he had inherited the lordship. Records for Holderness are very scanty, and we know only that in 1440-41 the auditor was John Lathbury, at a fee of four marks per annum,¹ and that in April 1447 Thomas Rogers became auditor there at the same fee.² It is likely that he was quite independent of Weldon, for nowhere on the Stafford estates is found a system of joint responsibility, with two men of equal status holding the same office and acting as a check on each other. Holderness was merely too isolated to be included within Weldon's sphere of duty.

Little is known of Rogers, although he may have been in Stafford's service since 1438 when there is a reference to a man of this name in connection with the drawing up of a new rental at Norton in Staffordshire.³ From the accounts of the late 1450s, his home appears to have been in Watton,⁴ probably the village of that name in the East Riding of Yorkshire near Holderness rather than the Watton in Norfolk. In August 1457 he was associated more closely with Weldon in the management of the estates, perhaps because Weldon was finding his duties in Stafford's service to be too onerous and to be curtailing his freedom of action elsewhere. He continued to audit the accounts for the Receiver-General's area and for the receiverships of Stafford, Cause, Newport and Brecon, while Rogers took over the responsibility for Kent and Surrey and the Gloucester receivership, and probably also for Dover, although

1. SRO D641/1/2/17m2d.

2. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 90.

3. SRO D641/1/2/57m8d.

4. PRO SC6 1117/10m9; SRO D641/1/2/181m8d, Gloucester receiver's accounts for 1459-60 and 1460-61, where Rogers' expenses were paid from Watton on every occasion he travelled.

this is not stated.¹ He presumably remained as auditor in Holderness as he continued to live in Watton. From this time the Brecon receiver was possibly relieved of his share of payment of the auditor's fee.

The Receiver-General paid both Weldon and Rogers, Weldon at the reduced rate of twenty marks per annum, with expenses still at 3s.4d. per day, and Rogers at the rate of ten marks per annum with daily wages of 2s.²

Weldon probably remained auditor until Michaelmas 1460 but there is no mention of him on the surviving accounts of the Duchess Anne, who was granted the farm of Stafford's English estates during the minority of Stafford's heir. Rogers remained in her service, his letters patent as auditor being renewed for Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Kent and Surrey. He also appears as Accountant of the Great Household, but whether he was also made auditor of the Receiver-General's area is unknown. He probably was auditor in Staffordshire where, in the early 1460s, a declared valor and account of the type which appears in other areas under Rogers has survived.³ His fee was paid by the Gloucester receiver,⁴ so it might appear unlikely that he was working in the Receiver-General's area at least. By 1463-64, John Gunter of Chilworth in Surrey was Anne of Buckingham's auditor at £5 per annum and became auditor of Duke Henry of Buckingham in 1473 at £10 per annum.⁵

Information about the audit and the work of the auditor can be collected from scattered references to Weldon in the various accounts. There are fewer accounts for the period in which Rogers was more actively involved in the work. The audit was decentralized. Soon after

1. PRO SC6 1117/10m9.

2. SRO D641/1/2/23m6.

3. SRO D641/1/2/66; above, pp. 87-88.

4. SRO D641/1/2/182m7d.

5. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, p. 290.

Michaelmas each year, the auditor would begin his circuit of the receiverships, apparently always beginning with the Receiver-General's area. The entry for his expenses on the Receiver-General's account for 1444-45 reads, "Dicti auditori equitanti de Longford usque Maxstoke et de ibidem usque diversa maneria in diversis comitatibus Anglie in onere Generalis Receptoris pro compotis ministrorum de hoc anno audiendis et terminandis mensibus Octobris et Novembris per 46 dies — £7.13.4."¹

The Receiver-General accompanied him on his circuit, collecting the issues for the Easter-Michaelmas term and seeing to the management and supervision of the estates at the same time. He also claims expenses for this journey of forty-six days, giving more details of the route followed. He started from his home in Newton Blossomville, going first to Maxstoke, where he would meet up with the auditor and perhaps also see Stafford if he were in residence. The manorial officials of the Warwickshire manors would be summoned to Maxstoke to render account. Then the auditor and Receiver-General set out for Oakham in Rutland, Rothwell and Navesby in Northamptonshire, Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire, Desenyng and Haverhill, Suffolk, Brickhill, Stretton Audley (Oxfordshire), Policote, and Amersham in Buckinghamshire, and then finally to Writtle in Essex, where the Receiver-General probably handed over some of his revenues to Stafford. The manors visited served as centres for the officials from nearby manors, to which they would travel to render their accounts. It was not always the same manors that were visited; others like Radcliffe in Nottinghamshire or Greetwell in Lincolnshire might be included. In general, however, this is a fair example of the route taken each year, beginning at Maxstoke and ending in Writtle or London, the whole journey taking between forty and forty-six days.

1. SRO D641/1/2/18m6.

Messengers were sent out from the audit centre each time to summon other manorial officials to appear, and these manorial officials were usually allowed the expenses of their journeys on their own accounts, and lived at Stafford's expense during the audit. The messenger also received payment for his services on the account of the manor where the audit was held. Details of the expenses of the audit on the 1444-45 Receiver-General's account relate to the audit held in 1444, at the very beginning of the account, that is, for the audit of the 1443-44 accounts. On manorial accounts however, allowances for expenses were usually made on the account being audited, after the charge-discharge balance had been struck.

The steward of the county or manor might also accompany the auditor and Receiver-General, and these officials together constituted an estate council for any routine business which might arise within the area, concerning the appointment of new manorial officials, allowances for good or hard work, permission to carry out minor repairs, or the settling of any minor manorial problem. More important matters probably had to wait to be referred to Stafford and his other counsellors.

The procedure for the audit as described for the Receiver-General's area was followed in all other receiverships, the auditor holding the audit at a central manor to which other officials were summoned in company with the receiver and, perhaps, the steward. The order in which the auditor travelled round the receiverships is rather uncertain, and probably varied according to convenience. It would seem likely that, until this area was taken over by Thomas Rogers, he would travel on to Kent and Surrey, the nearest receivership to the Receiver-General's area. On the 1428-30 account, the audit centres were Tonbridge and Yalding for Kent, and Blechingley for Surrey, the audit taking about ten

days in all.¹ Later surviving accounts for Kent and Surrey and for the Dover receivership provide no details of the audits.

For the Gloucester receivership, audits were held at centres in each of the three constituent counties. For Hampshire, all estates, Petersfield, Mapledurham, Upolatford and Cornhampton might be visited individually, but in Wiltshire, Marlborough and then, later, Westcombe were the main centres. In the early 1440s Marlborough was the centre for Wiltshire,² although Stafford had no connections with this place. However, the audit was held in the presence of the deputy-receiver, John Woodford, whose home was apparently here. After he left office, the audit was held in Westcombe. The audit for the Gloucestershire manors was held at Thornbury in the presence of the receiver. Nicholas Poyntz, while receiver, does not appear to have been present while audits were held in Hampshire and Wiltshire, preferring to be represented by his deputy. Thomas Berkeley, his successor, does seem to have travelled around with the auditor in all three counties, however.³ The whole audit for this receivership took between fifteen and eighteen days, the auditor staying at Thornbury for seven to ten days.

In some accounts, the auditor arrived in the Gloucester receivership from London, visiting the counties in the order given above. In other accounts, he arrived from Newport lordship and took them in the reverse order. Between these two receiverships, he might also fit in a visit to his home in Herefordshire. It appears that the Gloucester receiver paid the auditor's expenses into and through his area, the Newport receiver (if he were going on to Newport) taking over payment of expenses from Thornbury to Newport Castle, where the audit for this

1. SRO D641/1/2/231m9.

2. SRO D641/1/2/168m8; /170m10d; /171m7d.

3. PRO SC6 1117/9m8d.

receivership was held, and during his stay there which usually lasted from eight to ten days. In each case, and whichever way the auditor travelled, a messenger would precede him from one receivership to the next to announce to the receiver that the auditor's arrival was imminent, so that he could make preparations for his entertainment and for summoning together his officials to render account.

The accounts for Brecon receivership, i.e. for the lordships of Brecon, Hay and Huntingdon, and for Talgarth, were audited at Brecon Castle, the whole process taking about two weeks. On the 1452-53 account, the auditor's expenses are paid to Brecon Castle from Carmarthen,¹ but his interest there is unknown, unless he had been there on royal business, Stafford himself having no connection with Carmarthen. The auditor left Brecon for London.

The audit in Staffordshire, held at Stafford Castle, lasted about sixteen days, either preceded or followed by the audit of the Cause receivership accounts at Cause Castle. On the 1457-58 account, there is a variation of this pattern as he arrived in Stafford from Maxstoke, returning there after the audit.²

The accounts vary in the amount of information they provide about the audit and it is difficult to see any set route or routine followed by the auditor, although he probably progressed round the receivership in something like the order described above, his journey always being broken if necessary by his returning home or to Maxstoke or London to wait upon Stafford. The total time for the whole circuit is impossible to calculate as, apart from the Receiver-General's accounts (October and November) and the Gloucester receiver's accounts (November and December), the date of his arrival is not stated although the length of

1. CPL Breconshire Deeds, 4, m8.

2. SRO D641/1/2/62m12d.

his stay is, for the purpose of calculating the daily wages to be allowed him on the account. It seems likely on this flimsy evidence, there being no full set of receivers' accounts for any one year, that the audit lasted well into the New Year, the work and time obviously being reduced once Weldon's responsibility for Kent and Surrey and the Gloucester receivership devolved upon Rogers. Nothing is known of the audit in Holderness, apart from a brief statement on the 1447-48 declared account that the annual audit was held at Brustwick manor in the presence of the auditor, receiver, deputy-steward and others, and cost £3.7.8¹/₂ in expenses.¹

It is likely that the receiver's or auditor's clerk compiled the accounts on the spot, using previous accounts as models, especially for set entries like rents of assize, or rents of tenants at will, and for allowances for decayed or defective rents. The payments and disbursements of the year had to be accounted for by the production of indented bills and tallies and warrants from Stafford to the receiver or bailiff authorizing the payment, and by acquittances from retainers as receipts for payment of annuities. If the necessary instrument of conveyance was not produced, the item was disallowed and entered among the items for which the accountant was claiming respite, either because he was unable to collect an item charged against him for some reason or, as here, because he had not official proof or warrant for making a payment. William Kemeys, as receiver of Newport, claimed an allowance for portage of money from Newport to the Earl, wherever he might be, and year after year this entry was cancelled on his account by the audit and entered among the items in respite. This was probably because Kemeys was claiming more than the official rate, which in Brecon was 20s. for every

1. SRO D641/1/2/19m5.

£100 carried, but also there was in Newport no precedent for such an allowance. Kemeys' successor was granted no such allowance, and Kemeys' claim was eventually disallowed. He had to repay the money for which he had claimed allowance, and at Michaelmas 1457 he still owed £5.19s.¹

Warrants of allowances were sent to the auditor by Stafford for various items. The Stafford receiver was allowed respite for a yearly rent of 6s.8d. for a tenement in Mill Street, Stafford,² the warrant being sent to the auditor; thereafter the item was incorporated in with the text of the account. An allowance for the payment of a salary, of wages or of a retaining fee had to be covered by a warrant to the auditor as well as by an order to pay such a sum sent to the receiver. One such warrant reads: "To William Weldon auditor: we woll you in ye accompt of Richard Boteller for our manoirs of Sheldon and Woottens Wawen, yat ye allow him 2d a day for his paynes and service."³ Under the same reference, there is another warrant to Weldon:

We woll you in ye accompt of Thomas Vachan, recevor of Brecon ... ye allowe to ye said Thomas 18 marks for fee of Edmund Delamare Constable of Hay Castle, for two years past and 9 marks yerely unto ye time our lordship and town of Hay be left in rest and pees. London, 24 November anno 30 1451.

Many warrants to the auditor for allowances on accounts were for specific items, like the allowance to Thomas Leny, receiver of Newport, of £55.14s. for the expenses of the Household while staying in the receivership,⁴ or the allowance in November 1441 to Thomas Whitgreve, sometime

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1. PRO SC6 924/25m1ld. At Michaelmas 1455, the year before he left office, Kemeys was claiming a total respite of £38.15.8 for the past nine years' portage costs (SRO D641/1/2/22m1).
 2. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 54.
 3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 109.
 4. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 59.

receiver of the same lordship, of £200, no reason being given.¹

As the auditor's work included looking after Stafford's interests and settling minor problems on the estates, he often made marginal notes on the accounts of points that the receiver or accountant should attend to or investigate. Often these notes are written in minute handwriting and abbreviated to the point of illegibility, but there are frequent references to a need to consult previous accounts or the court rolls in order to settle a point at dispute or to verify a detail. On the Willsford account for 1448-49, beside the entry for sale of Works is the note, "*vide precedentes pro ista particula plenius exarsanda.*"² In fact, very little notice was usually taken of these marginal notes. The Willsford entry and note on it are repeated on the 1454-55 account.³

A note would be made of a need for a guard on Stafford's interests. The Brecon receiver's account for 1452-53 describing the repairs to Brecon Castle is accompanied by the note, "*vide in anno futuro si istud opus proficiatur,*"⁴ and the entry for the farm of the mills at Atherstone in Warwickshire, for which Stafford has obviously undertaken to provide timber with which the farmers can see to the repairs is annotated, "*memorandum de maeremo prostrato pro reparaciones huius molendini nondum reparati.*"⁵

It is very infrequent on the accounts for mistakes to be made and for miscalculations to pass the auditor. Usually these appear to have been made more through carelessness than through dishonesty. On the

1. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 47.

2. PRO SC6 1117/6m5.

3. SRO D641/1/2/216m5.

4. CPL Breconshire Deeds 4, m8.

5. SRO D641/1/2/271m3.

account for Langham manor in Rutland for 1459-60, the reeve's entry for "Farm of demesne land to native tenants" says that he is charged £15.12s. as the farm of seventy-eight units of land (demaynes), at 3s. each, but these figures have been scored out and a charge of £16 for eighty demaynes laid against him.¹ This may have been carelessness on the reeve's part, but it may have been an attempt to alter the figures and pocket the difference. Hence the importance of having rentals and old accounts on hand at the audit against which to check the figures and amounts on the new account. Sometimes discrepancies are noticed and passed over because they are of no importance, but there is usually a marginal note to draw attention to their presence. The entry for the "Sale of works" at Stowe manor in Newport for 1447-48 includes the item, "Nec respondet de 7s.7d. de 40 operibus herciature nuper venditis custumariis predictis precio operis 1½d." No revenue was in fact derived, or expected, from sale of works at Stowe, as the native tenants had allegedly fled, and the customary lands were in Stafford's hands, but this item is accompanied by a marginal note, "videantur precedentes quia precium operum non facit summam 7s.7d. per 2s.7d. etc.,"² an example of the tremendous care and thoroughness of the auditor. Very occasional minor mistakes were overlooked, but they were generally very small. On the Gloucester receiver's account for 1441-42, the receiver claims daily wages for himself for eight days, at 2s. per day, the usual rate. He is allowed his claim for 24s.³

At the end of the account, after all items have been checked, all allowances made, all items in respite claimed, all arrears apportioned out according to liability, the auditor gave the account his official

1. SRO D641/1/2/266m5d.

2. PRO SC6 924/23m4d.

3. SRO D641/1/2/168m8.

sign of acceptance, a faint, abbreviated "exoneratur" in the left-hand margin. Arrears were carried on from one year to the next, the final "debet" accompanied by the auditor's remark, "Qui onerantur in compoto suo anni proximi sequentis." Arrears were rarely written off,¹ but men were rarely imprisoned for failure to pay.²

One of the auditor's tasks after the audit was to compile a valor of all Stafford's lands in England and Wales, including Holderness, although he did not audit the accounts of this lordship. A clerk was paid an annual fee for writing the valor by the Receiver-General.³ The valor, as has been pointed out in Chapter III, was the auditor's own report on the financial position of all the estates, the aim being to provide a quick guide to the sources of revenue and the nature of the charges on the estates for that year, omitting all mention of arrears. It was not a statement of how much revenue was collected, but of how much should have been collected. Its purpose was probably that it should be a guide to what revenue was available and where, for assigning payments by warrant to auditors, for payment of retaining fees and for Household expenses.

Both Receiver-General and auditor were used by Stafford on business which had little or no direct connection with their main functions as a receiver or as auditor. The auditor, in particular, seems to have held a special position close to Stafford, almost qualifying him for the position of chief counsellor. This aspect of the work of the Receiver-General and auditor as counsellors will be

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1. The only examples on the surviving accounts are for the pardoning of the arrears of Normanton and Barbour, former auditor and Receiver-General, in 1445 (SRO D641/1/2/18m8), and the pardoning of arrears on the Stafford receiver's account after Stafford's death (SRO D641/1/2/62m13; /63m10).
 2. SRO D641/1/2/179m1; Breconshire Deeds 4, m5d. These examples, for Wiltshire and Huntingdon, are the only ones to be found on Stafford's accounts.
 3. SRO D641/1/2/15m6; /23m7.

discussed in the two following chapters, together with the composition of the council, the work it performed and its importance in the estate administration.

Note

It should be remembered that Stafford, as Count of Perche, held lands in France. The organization and financial importance of these estates are obscure and form no part of this work, as they were obviously completely divorced from the administration of the English and Welsh lands. They are mentioned only twice on documents relating to the English estates, on the valors of 1439-40 and 1447-48. The first reference mentions that "the issues, profits and revenues coming from this county are worth this year in clear value 400 marks".¹ The second reference, in 1447-48, says, "the value of the lordship is estimated by the lord this year at 800 marks during peace,"² which would suggest that no actual revenue was forthcoming.

The Redd Book of Caus contains a few references to the French estates and their officials, mainly their names and the dates of appointment. A John Stones is mentioned as bailly of the county of Perche and as captain and governor of the castle of Bellesme,³ a post which Matthew Gough also held.⁴ A Pierre le Roux is named as Receiver-General in Perche in 1445 and seems to have been in office at least two years earlier.⁵ It is obvious that English and Anglo-French were used in the administration of the estates. The lands in Perche were probably lost after c.1448, by the defeats of the English by the French.

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1. SRO D641/1/2/16m14.
 2. Longleat MS 6411m20.
 3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 32.
 4. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 78.
 5. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fos. 78, 54.

CHAPTER

NINE

IX

COUNSELLORS AND RETAINERS: THE MEN

In the previous chapters, an attempt has been made to describe the estate administrative structure from the smallest unit, the manor, to the receivership and the position of Receiver-General and auditor. It remains now to consider the composition and function of the council, the highest authority under Stafford himself in the whole administration of the estates. The council existed to provide for Stafford an instrument for dealing with all his business matters, from the smallest detail of administration on the estates to his affairs in the wider sphere of local and national politics. It was at the heart of his position and influence. It is the aim of this chapter to consider the composition of the council, with special reference to the estate officials and their status and position. It is not possible in this context to ignore the men retained by Stafford as annuitants and these are also included. The following chapter will deal with the work of the council.

G. Holmes, in his work on the estates of the higher nobility in fourteenth-century England, distinguishes between two main classes which constituted the council, the soldier and the officials of the estates and Household.¹ The first category may perhaps be expanded to include the knights and squires of the counties, who by the fifteenth century were not primarily soldiers, and also courtiers and lawyers. In effect, however, the composition of the council, on Stafford's estates at least,

1. Holmes, Estates of the Higher Nobility, p. 76.

cannot be so neatly and easily divided into these two main classes, the "indentured retainer" as opposed to the "official" element. The position and conditions of service of the estate officials — and here we are concerned only with the receiver, steward, auditor and other high-ranking officials — have already been discussed in Chapter VI. An official was appointed, during pleasure only, to a specific office on the estates, for which he had to render account to the auditor and in return for which service he received an annual money fee as salary. By virtue of holding office, he became a retainer of Stafford's and, because of his specialized knowledge of the estates, a valuable member of the council. In this chapter, a few generalizations concerning these officials are made, in conjunction with and in contrast to the class of men more commonly regarded as retainers, the annuitants bound to Stafford by the terms of a mutual agreement, the indenture. It may be useful, therefore, to discuss first the form and implications of such indentures, for the men thus bound to Stafford's service form Holmes's first category of counsellors.

The 1390 Statute concerning retainers allowed the lords temporal to retain only knights and squires, apart from household or legal servants. The contract was to be for life, and binding in peace as well as war. The right to wear livery was later restricted to household servants only; non-resident retainers were allowed to wear livery only when with their lord or employed in the king's service.¹ Few actual indentures survive for Stafford's retinue.² Most details of the names of his retainers come from the lists on the dorses of two valors

1. McKisack, The Fourteenth Century, p. 262, citing Statutes 13 Richard II, c3.

2. See below, pp. 363-70 for transcriptions of such Stafford indentures as do survive.

from the 1440s,¹ and brief details of their terms of service can often be found on the accounts in the section dealing with fees, wages and annuities. Indentures of the fifteenth century usually follow a more or less customary formula which stated little in precise terms but which assumed a great deal, the implications being clearly understood on both sides so that elaboration was unnecessary. Most surviving Stafford indentures are in English, but there are a few in French. Stafford, for his part, promised "good lordship" and an annual money fee. The service expected of the retainer was equally vague. He was "to ride and go", to "take his lord's part against all others except the king, in peace and in war". Most indentures were contracts for life, but in Kent Richard Culpeper's annuity of £5, granted in 1440, was to be paid during pleasure only.² All lawyers, without exception, were retained during pleasure only and many feature very briefly on the accounts while others, like William Cumberford, Thomas Young and Richard Chokke, appear on the accounts over a term of several years, or even decades. In one or two instances in the 1450s the retainer promised to serve Stafford and his heir, Lord Stafford. William Vernon of Haddon, Derbyshire, retained from August 1454 at £5 per annum, is one such example.³ In effect, however, an indenture could be broken by either party, or by mutual agreement. Names appear and disappear on the accounts and it can be no means be assumed that the retainer had died in the meantime. In the Gloucestershire receivership Thomas Delamare, esquire, of Aldermaston and Sparsholt, Berkshire, was retained from January 1452,⁴ and payment of his annuity of £5 had apparently

1. SRO D641/1/2/17mm2d-4d, for 1441-42; Longleat MS 6411mm2d-4d, for 1447-48.

2. SRO D641/1/2/234m2d.

3. PRO SC6 1040/15m3.

4. PRO SC6 1117/9m8d.

ceased by 1458.¹ His disappearance from the accounts is hard to explain, especially as in 1457 he was admitted to Lincoln's Inn and to all repasts when Stafford, his wife or either of his sons should be in London. It may be that he joined the service of either of these younger men. He was alive until 1490 and was a servant of Stafford's son, Sir Henry Stafford, certainly by 1470, and leader in the Berkshire rising for Henry duke of Buckingham in 1483. In 1484 he was attainted but his attainder was reversed in 1485.² William Fiennes, Lord Say and Sele, was granted an annuity for life in 1450/1 from Dover,³ but there is no trace of payment on the accounts surviving from 1454.

Retainers, unless members of the Household, lived away from Stafford himself, and a safeguard of their position was that they were to have reasonable warning of the service required of them, and were to be treated while with Stafford as befitted their rank and position. The essential point was that they were to be ready at all times "to ride and go", i.e. to assist their lord by joining his entourage when a retinue was necessary to enhance his prestige, or provide aid and counsel and, in effect, do all they could to promote the interests of Stafford and his family. The usual stipulation was that they were to come in full defensive array when necessary, with a specified retinue of their own. On some indentures, the actual number of men was not given; on others it was, according to the rank and status of the retainer, while Stafford reserved the right to assign an increased number if necessary. Sir Edward Grey's indenture of 1440 stated that while he was a knight he was to provide one squire, three yeomen, a groom and a page, with their

1. There is no record of payment being made on the 1458-59 account (SRO D641/1/2/180).

2. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 573.

3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 104.

seven horses. Once he attained the rank of baron his retinue was to be made up of two squires, four yeomen, a groom, two pages and ten horses. It may also be pointed out here that Grey's annuity as a knight was to be £40, while once he became a baron it was to be increased to 100 marks.¹ Sir Richard Vernon of Haddon, in receipt of a fee of £20 per annum for life, was to bring one gentleman, four yeomen, a page and seven horses, "or as many persons and hors as ye erle liste to assigne or commaunde resonably".² Some indentures specified service abroad when necessary, but as the French war became less popular and less a matter of primary importance, this clause tended to be dropped in the later indentures. However, that of 1449 for Master Thomas Edmund, "fesician", stated that he was to "be redy at all tyme when it shall like ye said duc to command him to com to his pleseur to and in all parts and places as on this side of the see as beyond to do with him service and with him to sejiourne". He was to provide himself with a retinue of one yeoman and one page.³ If service abroad was required, Stafford undertook to provide transport and shipping, and to pay wages and rewards in proportion to those he himself received from the king.⁴

Many indentured retainers were men who were retained for prestige and support; they had to proffer advice as members of the council, on any matter, whether concerning local estate interests or Stafford's general policies, but had no real direct association with the estates except in so far as they collected their fee-farm from a receiver or

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1. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 25. Sir Edward Grey (1415-57) was a younger son of Reynold, Lord Grey of Ruthin. In right of his wife he was summoned to Parliament from 1446 as Lord Ferrers of Groby (GEC, 5, p. 358).
 2. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 35.
 3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 99.
 4. Stafford's own share was usually one third of the prisoners and spoils taken by his retainer and one third of one third of the prisoners and spoils taken by his retainer's men, all prisoners being ransomed according to the law of arms. *eq. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 25*

manorial official. Such men as Sir Edward Grey, the Vernons of Haddon, the Curzons of Kedleston, the Mainwarings of Peover, the Longfords of Longford, were obviously tied to Stafford in a different relationship from that of the estate officials, with whom we are mainly concerned, but in many cases the distinction was a very fine one. Nicholas Poyntz of Irenacton and Thomas Mille of Harescombe, respectively receiver and steward in the Gloucestershire receivership, had both been retainers of Anne Stafford,¹ who were attached to Stafford's service after her death, as the backbone of his new receivership in the south-west. Both received fees of ten marks per annum for life from Stafford "for good and acceptable service", these payments being entered on the accounts among those to annuitants of the Gloucestershire estates. The receiver could claim travelling expenses from the revenues of his office, and the steward's expenses were paid from manorial revenues, but the ten marks fee seems in both cases to be an annuity rather than a salary for their work, especially as it was granted for life.² Poyntz ceased to be receiver in 1454 but his fee was paid up until the time of Stafford's death,³ in marked contrast to the situation of Humfrey Cotes, receiver in Staffordshire until 1449, who received no further payment, either as fee or as annuity, after leaving office. Poyntz' own successor's fee for his office was only £5 per annum, and was entered not among the annuities with Mille's fee, but in a separate section for "Fees and expenses".⁴ The fees paid to Poyntz and Mille seem to have been a

1. Poyntz received a ten-mark annuity from Seende manor in Wiltshire, from at least 1430/1 (SRO D641/1/2/12m2), and Mille was steward of the dower lands of Anne Stafford by 1435/6 and steward of the court of the Honour of Hereford in Gloucestershire (SRO D641/1/2/164mm2d, 5).

2. SRO D641/1/2/167m8d.

3. PRO SC6 1117/10m8, account for 1459-60. Poyntz received payment for the Easter term and died on 15 September 1460 (m9).

4. PRO SC6 1117/9m8d.

composite fee of salary and annuity, with no real distinction, although the bias seems to be towards an annuity, a retaining fee, rather than a salary for the duties they performed. On the valors of the 1440s, the fees of these two men were entered among the rest of the annuity payments and not among the fees of the estate officials, although their expenses were entered in this latter section.¹ Thus these two men could take their place on Stafford's council in either capacity, as retainer or as estate official.

It was mentioned in an earlier chapter that some estate offices were used as a means of rewarding or pensioning off faithful servants or members of the Household, and for binding some retainers more closely to Stafford's service.² Such offices were mainly the sinecure offices of parker, warrener, constables of the English castles, bailiffs of Honours or liberties. They were offices which required little local knowledge from the holder and which could easily be held by deputies who would be lesser men who did possess the necessary local knowledge for such posts. As the fees were assigned either on the manor or on the receiver of the area, it was a quick and easy method of ensuring payment of fees with a certain degree of regularity. The payment itself in fact may be regarded as a form of annuity. Poyntz, receiver in Gloucestershire, was also parker of Eastwood park, an office which he seems to have held by deputy.³ Robert Whitgreve and his son Humfrey were parkers of Stafford park;⁴ Henry Drury was parker and warrener of Desenyng in Suffolk,⁵ and John Andreux, a lawyer from Southam, Gloucester-

1. SRO D641/1/2/17m3d. See below, pp. 373, 371.

2. Above, p. 112.

3. PRO SC6 1117/9m9.

4. PRO SC6 988/12m10d.

5. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 23.

:shire, was bailiff of the Honours of Gloucester and Hereford in Gloucestershire, offices which he almost invariably held by deputies.¹ Anne, duchess of Buckingham, appointed one of her retainers, a rising young Yorkshire squire named William Hastings, to be her constable of Oakham Castle in Rutland.² Apart from John Andreux's offices, these were offices which were granted for life, in contrast to those which carried real responsibility and which were always held during pleasure only. Again, with such men, the distinction between retainer and estate official was very fine.

Many men who received annuities from Stafford because of their local influence, rank or ability were later appointed to positions of authority on the estates and in particular to the office of steward of a manor or group of manors. There was a slight distinction between the offices of receiver and steward. The receiver, although the key figure in the receivership, was of slightly lower status than the steward. He was mainly a collector of revenue while the steward was Stafford's direct representative with the right of holding manorial courts and exercising judicial authority on Stafford's behalf and in Stafford's name. Hence it was an office frequently held by men of considerable influence in the neighbourhood. Thomas Higham, steward of Desereng, received an annuity "pour estre de counsell" from May 1441, over a year before his appointment there as steward in August 1442.³ William Parkins, esquire, steward in Buckinghamshire from October 1443, was receiving a ten mark annuity at least as early as 1441/2.⁴ William

1. SRO D641/1/2/167m8d, and all Gloucester accounts to 1460.

2. PRO SC6.1117/11m5. William Hastings, created Lord Hastings in 1461, was Chamberlain and trusted servant of Edward IV.

3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fos. 39, 52.

4. SRO D641/1/2/17m3d; NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 67.

Rookwood, steward of the Norfolk manors in 1441-42, John Bamburgh, steward in Kent in 1441-42 and John Burgh, steward in Cause in 1447-48, were all receiving annuities before they were appointed to the estate staff.¹ In Brecon lordship, Kynard de la Bere and John Scudamore of Ewyas-Lacy, both stewards in the 1440s there, provide other examples of this practice of paying a retainer an annuity and then appointing him to the estate staff, for which he received a money fee. Occasionally it happened that estate officials were granted annuities in addition to their salaries, but this was less common. Thomas Barbour, Receiver-General from c.1423, was granted a ten mark annuity from 1429,² and both John Heaton, the Receiver-General from 1437, and Humfrey Cotes, receiver in Staffordshire, were granted allowances of five marks in addition to their fees of ten marks.³ In several cases, for instance those of Thomas Arblastar, sheriff of Newport lordship, and Nicholas Ashton, steward of Callington manor, men received both fees and annuities but the relevant dates of appointment and indenture are unknown. It can be seen, however, that in some measure Stafford was using his estate offices as a means of recruiting and binding men in his service. Men who were estate officials were often annuitants, and annuitants were often appointed to sinecures or to the more prestigious offices on the estates, a practice common in the middle ages from the royal estates downwards. Stafford himself held several offices on the Duchy of Lancaster estates.⁴ The men were all equally

1. Rookwood and Bamburgh are named as stewards on the 1441-42 valor (SRO D641/1/2/17m2d). For Rookwood's annuity from 1440 see NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 23; for Bamburgh, SRO D641/1/2/23lm11. Burgh is named as an annuitant in 1441-42 (SRO D641/1/2/17m3d), and appointed steward in March 1447 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 88).

2. SRO D641/1/2/24lm1; PRO SC6 988/12m10d.

3. SRO D641/1/2/2lm9; /56m11.

4. Above, p. 112 and note 2.

his counsellors, together with those who were simply in receipt of a money annuity and who had no direct dealings with the estates, apart from giving advice or aid on estate affairs if necessary. It is not possible therefore to draw a clear distinction between the two categories of counsellors as Holmes does for the fourteenth-century estates, nor is it necessary, although in this and the following chapter most attention is focused on the men who did hold responsible estate offices, rather than on indentured retainers or men holding sinecures.

It must not be assumed from what has just been said that the administration consisted of so much dead wood, of men filling office who had no real aptitude, ability or experience. The Stafford estate organization was a tried, very professional and, within limits, efficient machine, as can be seen from the records and documents it produced. A fair proportion of estate officials were professional administrators by training or by family tradition. By the fifteenth century, professional administration on the estates had passed from the hands of clerks to those of laymen. Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, employed two clerks and two laymen to be his Receiver-General and supervisor of his estates in the first decades of the century,¹ while in the mid-fifteenth century⁴ the Greys of Ruthin appear to have employed only laymen on their estates. Only three clerks, all appointed before 1450, can be identified on Stafford's estates. These were Henry Normanton, auditor from c.1423 to 1435, who had already made a career in the royal service,² Richard Lacy, receiver in Holderness in the 1440s, and John Witherton, receiver in Cause from 1445. Lacy was probably a member of a local family associated with Holderness, as in

1. Ross, The Estates and Finances of Richard Beauchamp, p. 7.

2. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1416-22, p. 121; 1422-29, p. 54.

1422 a William Lacy had been appointed coroner and bailiff of Holderness liberty,¹ while the lordship was in royal hands following the death of Thomas, duke of Clarence, who had held it since 1401. Witherton had been a member of Stafford's Household from at least 1427, when he had been appointed to the living of Cowdon, and he held at least three other Stafford livings, an incumbency at Westbury in Cause from 1430, Chipstead in Surrey and Tilbroke in Bedfordshire.² At the time of his appointment to the Cause receivership, he was designated "nostre bien ame chappellan".³ Neither Witherton nor Lacy appears to have had a career outwith his service to Stafford.

It has already been mentioned that the staff of the Receiver-General was the training-ground for future estate administrators, and produced at least two receivers for the 1460s, John Burton, receiver in Staffordshire, and Gilbert Standish, receiver in Holderness, as well as a number of lesser officials. Thomas Berkeley, receiver in Gloucestershire from 1454, was trained by his predecessor Nicholas Poyntz, and may justly be described as a professional administrator. He held a number of posts under Poyntz, as deputy-receiver, as collector of rents at Upclatford and Cornhampton manors in Wiltshire, and as deputy to John Andreux, bailiff of the Honour of Gloucester in Gloucestershire.⁴ Many others in Stafford's service were men who were employed in the service of other lords, including the king and the Church. John Abrahale, steward in Brecon in 1441-42, was also steward of Bronlles Castle for the king from July 1439, and receiver of the lordship of Monmouth in 1443, at the time of his death.⁵ Richard Alred, esquire,

1. PRO SC6 1084/1, his account for 1422-23.

2. VCH Shropshire VIII, p. 327; NLW Peniarth MS 280, fos. 40, 44.

3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 74.

4. SRO D641/1/2/171mm7, 7d; /172mm6, 6d; /173mm8d, 9; /174mm7, 7d, 8; /175mm8, 8d.

5. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 1; SRO D641/1/2/17m2d.

steward in Essex in 1441-42, was Receiver-General and Attorney-General of the Duchy of Lancaster from 1437-45, and William Kemeys, receiver of Newport lordship from 1446-56, was receiver of the royal lordship of Ebbw, part of the Duchy of Lancaster, in 1447-48.¹ John Harper, steward of the Warwickshire manors of Rugby and Tyso, was a royal auditor in the Duchy lands and appointed auditor of Warwick's forfeited estates in December 1459. He was also steward of the Abbey of St. Werburg of Chester at Weston-on-Trent in 1444.² John Heaton, Stafford's Receiver-General, was also receiver for Lord Grey of Wilton in 1448.³ Both of Stafford's main auditors were royal auditors. Henry Normanton had been a royal auditor for some years before his appointment by Stafford; and William Weldon, who became Stafford's auditor in 1435, probably owed his advancement in the royal service to Stafford's patronage — in 1438 he was appointed, during pleasure, as one of the two royal auditors in the lands of the principality of South Wales and in the earldom of Chester and the marcher lordships of Chirk and Powys.⁴ The first auditor for Holderness, John Lathbury, in office in 1441-42, was from 1440 auditor of the Duchy of Lancaster in the North Parts.⁵ He probably remained in Stafford's service until his death in 1447, when Stafford appointed Thomas Rogers to succeed him.

Many of Stafford's stewards were trained lawyers — "legitus peritus". John Andreux, bailiff of the Honours of Gloucester and Hereford in Gloucestershire, was a lawyer who had been Anne Stafford's attorney in

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1. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, pp. 398, 405; Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, p. 291, citing DL 29/616/9869.
 2. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, p. 445; J.S. Roskell, The Commons in the Parliament of 1422 (Manchester, 1954), p. 189.
 3. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 440.
 4. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1436-41, pp. 44, 181, 302.
 5. SRO D641/1/2/17m2d; Somerville, The Duchy of Lancaster, p. 435.

the courts at Westminster,¹ and served Stafford in a similar capacity after 1439. He performed the duties of office by deputy, and Thomas Buckland, his deputy in the 1440s, is also described as "legitus peritus".² Other lawyers were Thomas Haydock, steward in Hampshire from c.1441 to 1449, John Elinbridge, steward in Surrey in 1453-54 and Richard Brown, steward in Kent from 1450.³ Nicholas Ashton, steward of Callington manor in Cornwall and a serjeant at law, became Justice of Common Pleas in 1448.⁴ Thomas Arblaster, esquire, of Longford, Staffordshire, a lawyer and close associate of Stafford over a long period, was sheriff of Newport and Wentloog and Steward of Machan by 1434, and steward of Atherstone, Warwickshire, from 1438 to 1450.⁵ Many officials who served as stewards were, of course, amateur lawyers through their service in the counties as justices of the peace and as royal commissioners. It was uncommon for a receiver to be a trained lawyer, and only one possible example can be suggested, in Hugh Stanford, receiver in Staffordshire from 1423 to c.1432.⁶ A legal training was not at all necessary for the work of a receiver.

There are very few traces of nepotism in Stafford's administration, either among his estate officials or his retainers.⁷ Only two men can be traced among the estate officials who were related to him, and then

1. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 11; SRO D641/1/2/13m4.

2. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 129; SRO Gloucester receiver's accounts to 1446-47 (D641/1/2/167-173).

3. Wedgwood, Biographies, pp. 438, 295, 120-1.

4. SRO D641/1/2/15m6; Wedgwood, Biographies, pp. 25-6.

5. Glamorgan R.O. D/OCK/45m9; SRO D641/1/2/269m2d; Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 17.

6. Wedgwood, Parliamentary History of Staffordshire, pp. 197-98.

7. The Greys of Ruthin appointed relations to such offices as constables of their marcher castle, this still being an office of some importance (Jack, The Lords Grey of Ruthin, p. 225).

the relationship was very remote. Sir Hugh Erdeswick of Sandon, Stafford's chief steward in Staffordshire, was related to Stafford through his grandmother, the heiress of Sir James Stafford of Sandon (1300-c.56) and sister of Ralph, first earl of Stafford. It is more likely that Erdeswick, like so many other stewards, was appointed for his standing in the county than for this distant tie of kinship. He had been prominent in Staffordshire politics since the reign of Henry IV when, in the absence of any important opposition, the families of Stafford of Stafford, of Audley and of Dudley all being represented by minors, Erdeswick and his associates the Giffords and the Gresleys had terrorized the county, escaping into the Palatinate of Chester when necessary. He provides a good example of an unruly noble who came to lead a respectable life in county affairs, for he was pardoned by, and reconciled with, Henry V and served as sheriff and commissioner in Staffordshire in the 1420s.¹ The date at which he became Stafford's steward is unknown. It may have been as early as 1423, and he was certainly in office between 1437 and Easter 1450 when he apparently died. There would appear to be no real justification, on the accounts which survive, for his title of chief steward. It may perhaps be a relic of an age when Stafford power had been based in Staffordshire, or perhaps a calculated piece of diplomacy to flatter a man whose support was desirable.

The other example is not strictly of an appointment to the estate staff, but rather a political appointment. Stafford, as Captain of Calais, held the office by deputies, and, in 1442, he appointed his "right trusti and welbeloved cousin", Sir Humfrey Stafford of Grafton

1. Wedgwood, Parliamentary History of Staffordshire, p. 177. Wrottesley ("Extracts from the Plea Rolls of Henry IV and Henry V," p. 22) gives a list of indictments for injuries inflicted by Erdeswick, held Coram rege Mich. 2 Henry V.

(c.1400-50) as his deputy.¹ This Humfrey Stafford was a grandson of Margaret, daughter of Ralph, first earl of Stafford, who was married, as his second wife, to Sir John Stafford of Amblecote and Bramshill. The designation "cousin" was common practice between even the most distant of relations. On the accounts and in general, it would seem that there is no evidence of any close family ties between the various cadet branches of the Stafford family and the earls of Stafford in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and Stafford of Grafton's appointment was probably based on personal ability and political motives.

Among his "indentured" retainers, Stafford's family was represented only by his half-brother, Sir John Bouchier, retained from c.1442 at ten marks per annum, later increased to forty marks,² and his son, Lord Stafford, retained in 1455 at £40 per annum.³ His sister-in-law, Lady Mary Neville, his "bien ame soer", received a pension of £5 per annum,⁴ and his wife's grant of 100 marks from Brecon receivership, dating from c.1440, was increased to £100 per annum from the Gloucester receivership in 1449.⁵

R.I. Jack, in his work on the Grey of Ruthin estates, points out that the younger sons of the landed gentry might serve baronial houses in an official capacity, and cites the service of the senior branch of the Stanley family to the Greys.⁶ In general, it was the lesser county gentry, knights and squires holding one or more manors who filled the offices of receiver and steward on the Stafford estates, but two

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1. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 53.
 2. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 43; SRO D641/1/2/18m6.
 3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 115; SRO D641/1/2/23m7.
 4. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 105.
 5. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 25; SRO D641/1/2/175m8d.
 6. Jack, The Lords Grey of Ruthin, p. 222.

examples may be found on the Stafford estates to go some way in support of Jack's thesis. The Brecon receiver from 1451 was Sir Thomas Vaughn^a of Hergest and Kington, Herefordshire, a half-brother of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke from 1468, and full brother to Sir Roger Vaughn^a of Tretower.¹ He had been in Stafford's retinue from c.1444/5 when "our welbeloved servant Thomas Vaughn^a" had been granted a six marks annuity, and in 1445 he had been made constable of Huntingdon Castle in the Welsh march.² His ties with the locality were strong, and as receiver he probably gave loyal service to Stafford while in office, but closer family ties to Herbert of Pembroke proved stronger, and the Vaughns were strongly pro-Yorkist in 1460. The other example is from Gloucestershire where, from c.1443, Thomas Berkeley was occupying various offices in the receivership. According to John Smyth, the Berkeley chronicler, Thomas was the youngest son of James, Lord Berkeley. He had been in Berkeley Castle when it had been taken by the earl of Shrewsbury and his son in 1452 and had been forced to accompany Shrewsbury to Gascony in 1453 for the relief of the province from the French attacks. At the battle of Castillon in July, Berkeley had been captured and was ransomed at a very heavy cost. He was home by March 1454 when he was appointed receiver in Gloucestershire in succession to Nicholas Poyntz.³ Poyntz was closely associated with Lord Berkeley,⁴ and Thomas probably entered Stafford's service in the 1440s as Poyntz' protégé. The variety of posts he occupied indicate that he was out to make a career for himself in Stafford's service by gaining a thorough

1. Dictionary of Welsh Biography to 1940, ed. J.E. Lloyd and R.T. Jenkins (London 1959), pp. 996-7.

2. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fos. 73, 85.

3. J. Smyth, Lives of the Berkeleys 1066-1618, Vol. II, ed. Sir J. Maclean (printed in Gloucester for the Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Soc., 1883-85), pp. 164-74, 183-4.

4. Below, p. 287.

training in estate management. He was replaced fairly quickly as receiver after Stafford's death, however. In March 1461, Stafford's widow appointed a Sir William Berkeley as her steward in Gloucestershire.¹ He is a difficult man to identify and may have been the heir of Lord Berkeley himself, who succeeded to the title in 1463, or, alternatively, he may have been the heir of Sir Maurice Berkeley of Northfield and Stoke Gifford, Gloucestershire (d. 1464).

While dealing with the status and position of estate officials and retainers, it may here be useful to consider the question of nationality. Among the higher estate officials and retainers, it appears that English or anglicized Marcher families were preferred to native-born Welshmen. There are very few Welshmen anywhere in Stafford's service above manorial level, and of the eighty-three annuitants on the 1447-48 valor, only one Welsh name occurs, that of a Cadwalader Baugh, who, on the 1438-39 Receiver-General's account, is referred to as "clericus coquine hospicie".² The view of R.I. Jack, in speaking of the marcher lordship of Ruthin, cannot be wholly applied to Stafford's marcher lordships however. He says, "The general assumption seems to have been that Welshmen were neither efficient nor trustworthy and despite the smallness of the English population in Ruthin, most important positions were filled by Englishmen or, at least, by men with English names in the later fifteenth century."³ It is true that during Glendower's rebellion, acts were passed in Parliament forbidding the appointment of a Welshman to a responsible office, and Englishmen married to Welsh women were to be removed from office. From the lists of names

1. SRO D641/1/2/181m8.

2. Longleat MS 6411m.3d; SRO D641/1/2/15m1.

3. Jack, The Lords Grey of Ruthin, p. 219.

of Duchy officials it would seem that the majority of higher offices went to Englishmen in the fifteenth century.¹ The Greys even nominated their own English bailiffs on their Welsh manors but this seems never to have been the practice on Stafford's manors in the march and the accounts from the early fifteenth century are full of Welsh names of reeves and bailiffs and other local officials. From at least 1433-34, even the important office of Coroner of Wentloog in Newport seems to have gone to local nominees.² In Cause, the three known deputy-stewards had Welsh names — Cadwalader ap Owen in 1423-24, Meredith ap Cadwalader in 1447-48 and John ap Madoc Lloid in 1450-51³ — although it must be admitted that the stewards themselves were English, as were the receivers. Jack's statement does seem to be an exaggeration in relation to the Stafford marcher lordships of Newport and Brecon. Until the 1450s, receivers and stewards here were English or of English stock intermarried with the Welsh population, like the Kemeys family of Began in Wentloog. In Newport in 1452, Morgan ap Jankin ap Philip, obviously a Welshman, was appointed sheriff of Newport and steward of Machan and while still holding these offices was, in February 1456, appointed receiver of Newport.⁴ His predecessor as sheriff and steward had also been a Welshman, Henry ap Griffith of Presteign who, while sheriff, was appointed also steward of Brecon.⁵ He held both offices for nine months, until October 1452, when Philip became sheriff of Newport. Neither man is mentioned on any of the earlier surviving accounts for these lordships, nor can any other biographical details be traced, but

1. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, pp. 170, 639-52.

2. Above, p. 171.

3. SRC D641/1/2/241m1; /19m7; NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 109.

4. PRO SC6 924/25m10.

5. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fos. 101, 106.

obviously both were men of considerable ability to have held such offices and, indeed, such a concentration of authority. The fact that they were Welsh may either be of negligible importance, or of significance in Stafford's estate policy. There is no real evidence of trouble or disturbance in the lordships at this time, apart from a local feud in Hay lordship, but in Brecon at least Stafford had a bad reputation as a landlord.¹ He was, moreover, finding it difficult to collect his revenues, including the valuable fine for the dissolution of the Great Sessions. He may therefore have felt that a Welshman would have a greater influence on his tenants to persuade them to increase their payments, and there was in fact a slight improvement in the collection of revenues at Newport in the 1450s.² In effect, however, it is possible that little real distinction between English and Welsh could be drawn as names can be anglicized or can retain their Welsh spelling. A retainer in Brecon is called Thomas ap Harry on some records and Thomas FitzHarry on others.³ The Kemeys family of Began in Wentloog had a long history of marriages into Welsh families. The father of William Kemeys had married into a Welsh princely family, his wife being a descendent of Iestyn ap Gwrgant, prince of Glamorgan, and he took Glendower's side at the beginning of the fifteenth century.⁴ Sir John Soudamore, of Ewyas-Lacy and Kentchurch in Herefordshire, married a daughter of Glendower in 1433 and although his career suffered eclipse for several years, he recovered his position in county affairs and became steward, and the receiver, in Brecon under Stafford, having

1. Above, p. 48 and n. 4.

2. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, pp. 175-6.

3. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 331.

4. Pugh, Marcher Lordships ..., p. 292: "No doubt several generations of such marriages explain how the lord of Began, whose family was English in origin, came to be identified with Welsh aspirations."

been retained at least as early as 1441/2.¹

On the English estates, Stafford did not favour concentrating authority in one man. Exceptions usually occur where a man held one office in conjunction with another of honorary importance. William Heaton of Rutland was steward of Nottinghamshire and Rutland and also constable of Oakham Castle, an office which had lost its original significance.² In the Welsh March, as we have seen, major exceptions to this rule were made. It has already been pointed out that two Welshmen could combine the offices of receiver and steward in one lordship or the offices of steward in the two lordships. It will also be remembered that the office of Newport receiver was held in conjunction with those of approver and constable of the castle there. This meant, in effect, that from 1456 Morgan ap Jankin ap Philip held all offices of importance in Newport, except that of coroner. The receiver of Brecon was also constable of the castle there.

During the period of William Kemeys' tenure of office as receiver in Newport from 1446-56, there was a remarkable concentration of authority in the lordship in the hands of Kemeys and his family. The history of this family is a good example of the way a family could prosper in the service of a great lord. Ieuan ap Jankin Kemeys of Began had been master forester of Machan for Edmund of Stafford in 1402,³ and his support for Glendower did not apparently mar the careers of his sons. The eldest, Morgan, was deputy-sheriff for Anne Stafford in 1417,⁴ a younger son, Howell, was William Kemeys' immediate predecessor

1. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 753; SRO D641/1/2/17m3d; Longleat MS 6411m3d; SRO D641/1/2/20m1.

2. PRO SC6 954/11m1; NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 23.

3. PRO SC6 924/18mm.9-10.

4. Nicolas, Proceedings, II, p. 216.

as receiver for a few weeks in 1446, and from 1444-48 he held the office of deputy-sheriff, with a licence to appoint all his own subordinate officials.¹ Doubtless the real exercise of judicial power lay in Howell's hands, since the sheriff, Thomas Arblaster of Staffordshire, was non-resident. In 1447 the coroner of Wentloog was David Kemeys, another member of the family.² William Kemeys the receiver had himself been coroner of Wentloog in 1415 and together with his brother Morgan he appears in the list of persons giving recognizances that the fine of Great Sessions would be paid in 1432. In 1443 the tenants of the lordship borrowed £40 from him to make the customary gift to Stafford's wife on the occasion of her first visit.³ He was mayor of Newport in 1444 and again in 1446, at the time of his appointment as receiver.⁴ In addition, he held thirty-three and a quarter acres of the former bond-land at Stowe, and twelve acres at Rumney. At Dowlais, he held the lease of Blakecourt manor, and 106½ acres of demesne lands, while all the demesne at Machan was leased from 1436 to a younger brother, David, for a term of thirty years, and from 1440 Howell Kemeys was tenant of lands in Rumney,⁵ thus making the family a force to be reckoned with in Newport in the 1430s and 1440s. Towards the end of his life, c.1460, William Kemeys joined the ranks of the county gentry, buying the manors of Rogerstone and Sutton-in-St. Brides in Wentloog, and a town house in Newport.⁶

1. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 85; indenture as deputy-sheriff, fo. 73.

2. PRO SC6 924/23m6.

3. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, p. 292; NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 59, warrant to the receiver to pay William Kemeys of Newport £40, which he had lent to the tenants.

4. NLW Tredegar MS Box 62, no. 29; NLW Tredegar MS 146, m6d.

5. PRO SC6 924/23mm.4, 1, 3, 7, 1d.

6. Pugh, Marcher Lordships ..., pp. 292-3.

Many men did of course hold lands from Stafford by grant or by lease as farmers, as well as by virtue of feudal tenure, like Nicholas Longford, a retainer, at ^{Ellaston} Ethelaston in Staffordshire, Humfrey Cotes, receiver in Staffordshire, at Wilbrihton manor, Staffordshire, or Sir John Soudamore, steward in Brecon, holding the manor of Mockas in Herefordshire.¹ John Barbour of Stafford was farmer of the granges of Forebridge and of pasturelands and the fisheries of the river Sowe.² Roger Clerk, clerk of the courts in Staffordshire and Warwickshire, farmed the site of the manor of Bradley, which had previously been farmed by the former receiver in Staffordshire, Hugh Stanford.³ John Andreux, bailiff of the Honours of Hereford and Gloucester, held Stretton St. Margaret manor on a seven-year lease from 1443,⁴ and in 1456/7 John Doune, a retainer since 1442, was farming the site of Haresfield manor jointly with his wife, and also farming some of the demesne lands.⁵ Still in Gloucestershire, John Arthur, bailiff of the Honour of Hereford in the county from c.1450, farmed nine acres of meadow in Haresfield, together with a Richard Stevens and his wife. They held the lease for life, together with the lease of lands in the Woodfield and the farm of agistments in the park.⁶ In Kent, Richard Salter, bailiff of Tonbridge liberty, farmed the mills of Tonbridge for a twelve-year term, with pastureland in Tonbridge called Londonmeadow and a tenement in Tonbridge borough, while the receiver, William Hexstall, farmed the manors of Blechingley and Stangrave in Surrey.⁷

1. PRO SC6 988/12m4d; NLW Peniarth MS 280, fos. 55, 89.

2. SRO D641/1/2/57mm2, 2d.

3. SRO D641/1/2/54m2.

4. PRO SC6 1117/8m6d, account of John Andreux, farmer, for 1448-49. After the end of his term, the manor was not farmed out and the revenues were collected by a reeve.

5. PRO SC6 1117/9m6.

6. PRO SC6 1117/9m6.

7. SRO D641/1/2/233mmld, 10(5).

Thomas Leny, receiver in Newport until 1446, had practically held the controlling interest in Stowe manor. He farmed the whole of the demesne land and had acquired the largest share of the lands of the bond tenants, who were said to have fled and abandoned their holdings.¹ The lands farmed by the Kemeys family in Newport have already been mentioned. Many other examples of officials and retainers holding lands from Stafford may be found on the accounts.

It is rather difficult to trace how and when men entered Stafford's service. The easiest explanation is that they recommended themselves to him and were accepted into his service. Tenants of his manors would often become members of his retinue, especially after a period of wardship. Nicholas Longford succeeded to Stafford's manor of ~~Ethelston~~^{Ellaston} as a minor, and it was in Stafford's hands until Longford was granted seisin in 1437/8. He became a retainer in 1444.² Maurice Berkeley held the manor of Falefield by knight service, and although his name does not appear among the list of retainers, there was a Maurice Berkeley, possibly his son, serving as page in Stafford's Household in the 1450s.³ This was another means of entry into a great lord's service in the fifteenth century. Edward Delamare, a retainer in the 1450s, was in the Household in 1444/5,⁴ and other pages included a Bagot, a Gresley, a Curzon, a Davenport and a Basset, probably all the sons of retainers, as well as William Mille son of Thomas Mille, steward in Gloucestershire, and Henry Drury, son of the steward in Suffolk.⁵ Alexander Eden, Cade's capturer and executioner, was in the Household in the

1. PRO SC6 924/23m4.

2. PRO SC6 988/12m4d; SRO D641/1/2/56m10; NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 68.

3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, p. 2, no. 15; SRO D641/1/2/23m6.

4. SRO D641/1/2/18m5; PRO SC6 1117/9m8d.

5. SRO D641/1/2/23m6.

1440s, and Thomas Burgh, created Lord Burgh in 1487, a prominent supporter of Edward IV, was a member of the Household in 1456-57.¹ The entry of John Heaton, Receiver-General from 1437, is obviously linked with his place of origin, Stafford's manor of Newton Blossomville in Buckinghamshire. Leonard Hastings held the manor of Bewick in Holderness from Stafford,² and Anne, duchess of Buckingham's appointment of his son William, later to become Lord Hastings, as her constable of Oakham Castle probably originated in this territorial connection between the two families. It is interesting to note that W.H. Dunham, writing of William Hastings' indentured retainers, points out that after Hastings' execution in 1483 his own retainers transferred their allegiance to the service of Henry, duke of Buckingham.³

It must be pointed out that many of Stafford's retainers were retained by other lords also during his lifetime. Sir John Gresley was retained by William Hastings; Philip Chetwynd, retained from 1431, retained in his turn Robert Whitgreve;⁴ Hugh Cresset, sometime receiver in Cause, was on the duke of Exeter's council.⁵ Nicholas Radford, retained by 1437-38, was a member of Lord Bonville's council, and as such was caught up, fatally, in Bonville's feud with the earl of Devon.⁶ Nicholas Poyntz, receiver in Gloucestershire, was almost certainly retained by Lord Berkeley, for whom he acted in the mortgage of Talgarth manor to Stafford in 1441,⁷ and John Heaton, the Receiver-General, was

1. SRO D641/1/2/18m5; /23m6.

2. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 38.

3. W.H. Dunham, "Lord Hastings' indentured retainers 1461-83," Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, LV (New Haven 1955), p. 26.

4. The Chetwynd Cartulary, ed. Wrottesley, p. 261.

5. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 235.

6. Ibid., p. 707 n. 1. He was murdered by Devon's men in October 1455 and his house plundered.

7. SRO D641/1/2/167.

retained by Lord Grey of Wilton.¹ In such cases, there would be a clause in the indenture reserving allegiance to one lord before that to another, just as all retainers reserved their primary allegiance to the king.

In many Staffordshire families there was a tradition of service to the Stafford family, of which Stafford himself took full advantage. Even after the centre of Stafford interests and the Household itself moved from Staffordshire to London, Writtle and Maxstoke the West Midland shires, the heartlands of Stafford influence, continued to supply the main body of estate officials and retainers. Many families served the Stafford family for several generations before and after Stafford's own day. A James Arblaster of Longdon was in the service of Earl Ralph of Stafford in 1361 when he accompanied Lionel, duke of Clarence, to Ireland.² A Thomas Arblaster was retained by Earl Edmund until his death in 1403, and remained in the service of his widow, Anne Stafford, for he is found as constable of her castle of Caldecote in 1406-07. His son Thomas was retained by Stafford at a fee of £5 per annum, and also was sheriff of Newport and Wentloog, steward of Machan and steward of Atherstone in Warwickshire.³ The Whitgreves of Burton, Staffordshire, were another family who provided generations of service. A John Whitgreve was receiver of Cause for Earl Thomas in 1392;⁴ Thomas Whitgreve was Stafford's receiver in Newport in the 1430s;⁵ and Robert Whitgreve, a member of the Receiver-General's staff in 1423-4, was

1. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 440.

2. W.F. Carter, "Notes on Staffordshire families: Arblaster, Heveningham and Draycote," William Salt Arch. Soc. (1925), pp. 5-6.

3. SRO D641/1/2/17m2d.

4. SRO D641/1/2/4m1.

5. Glamorgan R.O. D/DCM/45m9. He had previously been in the service of Stafford's brother-in-law, Edmund, earl of March (d. 1425), who had made him a life-grant of lands in Bromsgrove (Cal. Pat. Rolls 1422-29, p. 193).

retained in Stafford's service from 1430, was an itinerant justice in Newport in 1432 and parker of Stafford from 1433, an office in which his son Humfrey was associated with him during his lifetime and held alone after Robert's death in 1452.¹ Stafford conferred a grant of arms on Whitgreve in 1434.² The Barbours of Stafford also had such a tradition of family service. Thomas Barbour was Receiver-General from c.1423 until 1437 and when he was replaced by John Heaton in this office he provided a further two years' service as receiver in Staffordshire. His sons William and John were both members of the Household in 1438-39, and received annuities of five marks each from 1441.³ Yet another generation of Barbours served Anne, dowager duchess of Buckingham, for a William Barbour was one of the clerks of her counting-house.⁴

John Harper, of Rushall, Staffordshire, another tried and trusted retainer of Stafford, was his steward of Rugby and Tyso manors, Warwickshire, and his son William was steward in Staffordshire under Stafford's widow.⁵ Another son, Richard Harper, was executor of Duchess Anne's will in 1480. He had been retained by Sir Henry Stafford (d. 1471) as his receiver, served as Receiver-General of Edward, duke of Buckingham, and also as Receiver-General of the Duchy of Lancaster from 1485 to 1492.⁶ In Newport, as we have seen, Ieuan ap Jankin Kemeys was father of the Kemeys family who were so powerful in the mid-fifteenth century, having himself served Earl Edmund. It is likely that the forebears of these families, Arblastars, Barbours, Whitgreves, Kemeys, had served the

1. SRO D641/1/2/241m1; PRO SC6 924/23m10; SRO D641/1/2/59m1.

2. SRO D641/1/1/391d. Below, p.293.

3. SRO D641/1/2/15m6; /54m9.

4. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 39.

5. SRO D641/1/2/269m4; /270m4d; BM Add. MS 29608m3.

6. PCC Logge 5; Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 428; Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, p. 401.

Staffords in the fourteenth century, their service in many cases perhaps being broken by the long minority of Stafford from 1403 to 1423, after which they returned to his service. In the same way, sons and grandsons of Stafford's retainers remained in the service of his widow, sons and grandson. William Barbour and Richard Harper have already been cited as examples. Thomas Higham was still steward of Desenyng in 1474-75 at the same time as his son was parker there; Christopher Cumberford, son of Stafford's lawyer William Cumberford, retained from 1443, was Duchess Anne's receiver in Gloucestershire, and another son, Hurefrey Cumberford, received four marks in her will.¹ Among those accused of complicity in the rising of Henry, duke of Buckingham, against Richard III in 1483 were John and Reynold Pymppe of Nettlestead, Kent; John Gaynesford of Alington, Nicholas Gaynesford of Cressalton, Alexander Culpeper of Goudhurst, Robert Brown of London, William Norris of Yakendon, Berkshire, William Berkeley of Beverston, Sir Thomas Delamare of Aldermaston and William Uvedale of Wickham in Hampshire, all of whom were retainers or sons of retainers or estate officials of Stafford, who had returned to serve his grandson and heir at the end of the minority.²

Several of Stafford's retainers and estate officials were men who had served his mother and, after her death in 1438, had joined Stafford's service. They included Nicholas Poyntz, Thomas Mille and John Andrews, around whom Stafford shaped his new receivership in the south-western counties. Richard Ruyton, Earl Edmund's receiver in Kent, remained in office under Anne Stafford after 1403 and while holding this office in her service held the same office as receiver in Kent in Stafford's

1. BM Add. MS 29608m3; PCC Logge 5.

2. Rot. Parl. VI, pp. 244-5.

administration until c.1428.¹ John Harper, steward of Anne Stafford's manors in 1428² and also Stafford's steward for two Warwickshire manors, had probably remained in Anne Stafford's service through his original connections with, and service to, Earl Edmund, for he was a Staffordshire man.

It is likely that the main route into Stafford's service or retinue, failing territorial or family ties, was through recommendation. An official or local squire or knight, seeking to make his way in fifteenth-century society, would approach Stafford who, as a great landowner in favour at court, could advance the fortunes of his retainers. In many cases Stafford himself probably took the initiative, inviting a man, whether courtier, member of the local squirarchy, or lawyer, who seemed able and likely to prove useful, to join his retinue. The reasons on both sides for this system of recommendation are quite obvious. For a retainer, the actual money retainer was in itself not of great importance. W.H. Dunham finds that by the 1470s there are only two examples of retainers in Lord Hastings' retinue who received any cash payment at all.³ The material rewards for a retainer of Stafford were not particularly great. The fees of estate officials have already been dealt with in an earlier chapter. Annuities ranged in value according to the rank or usefulness of the retainer. Sir Edward Grey and Stafford's own son each received £40 per annum, and his half-brother forty marks. These, with the £40 fee to the Lieutenant of Dover Castle, were the highest sums paid, although provision was made on Grey's indenture that his fee should be increased to 100 marks per annum if he attained the rank of baron. Knights like Robert Grey,

1. SRO D641/1/2/7m1; /231m13.

2. BM Add. Ch. 19858.

3. Dunham, "Lord Hastings' indentured retainers," p. 51.

Richard Vernon, Walter Percival, received £20 per annum. A step further down the scale, at £10 per annum, were other knights, like John Gresley, John Curzon, Thomas FINDERNE, Nicholas Longford, John Mainwaring and John Hampton, while the bulk of squires, gentlemen and valets received between four and ten marks apiece. All lawyers received a standard retaining fee of £2 per annum, and Stafford's physician was retained at the rate of £10 per annum.¹

There would seem to have been no system of rewarding officials or retainers with grants of land, apart from one or two exceptions.

Thomas Arblaster held Packington manor in Staffordshire free of rents from 1429 until his death in 1458, when it was regranted, still quit of rents, to another retainer, William Cumberford, the lawyer.²

Thomas Barbour, the Receiver-General, held tenements in Stafford free of charge through Stafford's grant, and after his death they descended to his son John.³ Thomas Whitgreve, his wife and their heirs held lands in Stafford at a reduced rate, but for the lifetime of Whitgreve's wife only. On her death, the rent was to be increased from 5s. to 6s.8d.⁴ Henry Drury and his wife held the manor of Bernington in Suffolk, worth £20 per annum, free of charge and after Drury's death his widow continued to hold it, still free of rents.⁵ These examples are, however, exceptions to the general rule regarding grants of lands.

The advantages of being a retainer of a great lord were mainly intangible. Many men rose in rank and status through their service to

1. For fees, see SRO D641/1/2/17 dorse, valor for 1441-42; Longleat MS 6411 dorse, valor for 1447-48.

2. SRO D641/1/2/54m2d; /62m3; /63m3.

3. SRO D641/1/2/54m2d.

4. PRO SC6 988/12m5.

5. SRO D641/1/2/17m7; /18m3.

Stafford. Thomas Barbour, described as "yeoman" in 1413, is "gentleman" in 1430. John Andreux, "gentleman" in 1430 and 1432, was named as "esquire" in 1455 and William Hexstall's title changed in the same way, from gentleman in 1422 to esquire by 1452.¹ The Whitgreves were granted a coat of arms by Stafford in 1434, of "nine pieces azure et or with a chevron gules in each piece of gold". The arms of Stafford himself were "or a un cheveron gules".² It has already been mentioned that William Kemeys was buying property in Newport in the 1450s and joining the ranks of the county gentry. In this he was following the example of a predecessor as receiver, Thomas Leny, described as merchant of Newport upon Usk, who bought a manor in Magor, Monmouthshire.³

Several men probably owed their advancement in a more material sense to Stafford's patronage, though this is more difficult to prove. In view of Stafford's position at court, however, it is highly likely that he could influence the careers of his servants. Thomas Arblastar of Longdon was appointed Surveyor of Needwood Chase, a Duchy of Lancaster office, for life from 1439, and in 1454 became a squire of the body to Henry VI.⁴ Other offices in the Duchy held by Stafford's retainers which they may have owed to his patronage include the appointment of William Garnet (retained from 1441) as Deputy Chancellor at Lancaster from 1448; Robert Whitgreve (retained from c.1423/4) as receiver of Tutbury Honour from 1432-52; Humfrey Whitgreve as steward of the manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme; Richard Hotoft (retained from 1440) as feodary

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1. Wedgwood, Parliamentary History of Staffordshire, p. 160; J.T. Driver, "Parliamentary burgesses for Bristol and Gloucester 1422-37," Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc. LXXIV (1955), p. 71; Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 450.
 2. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 941; J.E. Doyle, The Official Baronage of England, 1066-1885, III (London, 1886), p. 385.
 3. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, p. 294.
 4. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 11.

of the Honour of Leicester, bailiff of the liberties in Warwickshire and town-bailiff in 1441, and feodary in Northamptonshire in 1458-59, and Thomas Uvedale as Keeper of Porchester Castle in 1453-54.¹ Stafford himself held various offices in the Duchy, to which he appointed his retainers as his deputies. William Cumberford became his deputy as steward of Needwood and Tutbury in Staffordshire in 1447/8,² Ralph Pole as his deputy as constable of Tutbury Castle and Lieutenant and steward of all the lands in Derbyshire,³ Sir Geoffrey Warburton and then John Doune served successively as deputy steward of Hatton, an office granted to Stafford for life in 1437; John Mainwaring became his deputy-steward for Congleton manor,⁴ and John Cockaigne his deputy-steward at Ashbourne in c.1453.⁵

In other offices, Robert Whitgreve and William Hexstall both served as Tellers of the Exchequer, John Barbour was a King's Messenger from 1447 to 1456, Richard Hotoft a clerk to the Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1441 and Humfrey Whitgreve was appointed a Yeoman of the Chamber in 1445/6.⁶ John Hampton's rise to favour in the service of Henry VI is probably due primarily to his service to the House of Stafford. He fought at Agincourt under Sir William Bouchier, third husband of Anne Stafford, and by 1429 was already Master of the Ordnance and Usher of the Chamber. Further grants were bestowed upon him as steward of Morfe and Shirlet, sheriff of Merioneth, ranger of Kinver, water-bailiff of Plymouth, Squire of the Body, Constable of Chester and

1. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, pp. 478, 543, 550, 569, 589; Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 900.

2. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 93.

3. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, p. 510.

4. Ibid., p. 513.

5. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 111.

6. See under the relevant entries in Wedgwood, Biographies.

of Colchester, Master of the Horse, and various money grants and pensions were granted him also. In the 1449-50 Parliament, in which he sat, he was exempted from the Act of Resumption but later in the same Parliament he was removed from most of his offices. It was probably through Stafford's influence that he remained as squire of the body and liaison officer with Stafford himself at court. Again, in the 1453-54 Act of Resumption it may have been Stafford's influence which allowed him still to retain the offices of Constable of Colchester and squire of the body together with a pension of forty marks per annum, although his days of prosperity were virtually ended. In the 1459 Parliament, his share of the spoils, for his long service to Henry V and Henry VI, was the stewardship of Bromsgrove, King's Norton and Bewdley manors. He escaped attainder in 1461 but held no office in the Lancastrian Readeption, his patrons now being dead.¹ To provide one final example, it is almost certain that Richard, son of John Harper, owed his rise to influence as Receiver-General of the Duchy of Lancaster to his father's service to Stafford and his own service to Stafford's son Henry and his wife, Margaret, countess of Richmond.

This advancement of his retainers and counsellors on Stafford's part was probably covered by the all-embracing phrase "good lordship". As a great landowner, there was just reason for a prospective retainer to think that Stafford could maintain his claim by his support at court, in the courts of justice and in the counties against local rivals. Of course, retainers convicted of felony were not considered to be covered by Stafford's promise of good lordship. From at least 1439, one of his retainers and counsellors was Sir Griffith Vaughn^a, who received an

1. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 415. His annuity of ten marks, granted in 1441, was increased to £10 from 1444 (SRO D641/1/2/17m3d; /54m9d; /56m10).

annuity from Cause. His father had been prominent in the cause of Glendower but had later served in Cause lordship. Griffith himself had received part of the reward for the capture of Sir John Oldcastle in 1417 and was promoted from esquire to knight in France under the patronage of Humfrey of Gloucester. In 1443, however, he killed Sir Christopher Talbot (1419-1443), a younger son of the earl of Shrewsbury, and champion tilter of his day, in whose service Vaughn appears to have been by this date. He was outlawed and a 500 mark reward offered for his capture. Stafford garrisoned his castle at Cause against his former retainer and several of his tenements in the lordship were burnt out in the course of Vaughn's rebellion. In July 1447 Vaughn was however enticed into Powys Castle by means of a safe conduct from Sir Henry Grey of Powys, and there beheaded.¹

An example of "good lordship" seen in action, although ultimately non-productive, may perhaps be seen in Stafford's intervention in a feud between two of his retainers, Sir William Vernon of Haddon, retained since 1454, and Sir John Gresley, retained since c.1450,² both aided by their kinsmen. A feud broke out between the two families in 1455, the actual cause of which is unknown. In July 1455 they were summoned before the king to answer for their riotous behaviour. Stafford here obviously stepped in as mediator, offering to settle the affair by arbitration. Accordingly, in September 1455, an award was arranged by Stafford. There was a judicial insistence "that the said Sir William and Sir John shalbe full frendes and of frendly delyng and pardone and leye apart either to other all maner aggrugginges and rancoure of herte". A precise assessment of injuries was laid down, which is strongly

1. SRO D641/1/2/54m10; Dictionary of Welsh Biography, p. 1002; VCH Shropshire VIII, p. 309.

2. PRO SC6 1040/15m3; NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 104.

reminiscent of the law codes of the eleventh century. A sore head or face was worth 14s.4d. compensation, a broken leg £2, and so forth.¹ Unfortunately, Stafford's intervention proved a counsel of perfection; it solved or settled none of the causes of the feud, which continued into the 1460s, exacerbated no doubt by the fact that the Vernons supported the Lancastrian cause and the Gresleys were Yorkist partisans. They, with the Blunts, ruled Derbyshire under Edward IV. Stafford himself, it may be noted, took no side in the feud.

The higher estate officials, like the retainers, were drawn from roughly the same social class, forming an homogeneous and solid core of support and influence in the counties. To end this chapter on the men who were Stafford's counsellors, estate officials and retainers, the interdependence of this class, with their intermarriages and connections, will be considered as a prelude to the following chapter in which the counsellor's function is considered, for this interdependence probably went a great deal of the way towards strengthening the feeling of solidarity and strength behind Stafford in the shires, a primary function of a retinue. In Gloucestershire, for example, Nicholas Poyntz, the receiver until 1454, was brother-in-law to the steward Thomas Mille, and both had previously been in the service of Anne Stafford, as had John Andreux, bailiff of the liberties there. All three had sons who served the Stafford family in some capacity. John Poyntz was a general "well-willer" from the 1440s, and receiver from 1461,² William Mille was associated with his father as parker of Haresfield from 1455, and Hugh

1. Madan, "The Gresleys of Drakelow," pp. 57-58.

2. SRO D641/1/2/181m8d. "Well-willers" were an ill-defined and amorphous group of men whose connections with a lord were not formalized by a written agreement. John Poyntz rode with Stafford in 1448/9 although there is no record of a formal indenture (SRO D641/1/2/174m8).

Andreu was one of his father's deputies as bailiff of the Honour of Gloucester in 1459.¹ Poyntz' successor as receiver was Thomas Berkeley, probably his protégé and certainly trained by him. These four men between them cover the administration in Gloucestershire from 1439 until Stafford's death in 1460. Andreu ceased to be bailiff of Hereford Honour in c.1450, while remaining bailiff of Gloucester Honour, and his successor was John Arthur who, in 1460, was executor of the will of Thomas Mille.²

In Staffordshire and the adjacent counties, the connections between the various officials and retainers must have been equally strong, if not stronger, in view of the history of service of some of the local families to the House of Stafford. Intermarriages were commonplace. Richard Bagot, esquire, of Blithfield, retained from 1455, married Isabel, the daughter of Sir Robert Aston, son and heir of Sir Roger Aston of Heywood. One of his sisters married Henry Bradbury, retained since 1445, another married John Curzon of Kedleston, retained in the 1440s.³ Sir Roger Draycote of Paynsley, receiver from 1449, married a daughter of Sir Roger Aston of Heywood who, in 1409-10, had been steward of Anne Stafford's Household.⁴ Draycote, as a boy in 1420, had had a somewhat inamicable brush with Sir Hugh Erdeswick who later became Stafford's steward in Staffordshire, Erdeswick unsuccessfully claiming wardship of the boy.⁵ Presumably this had been long forgotten by 1450,

1. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 113; SRO D641/1/2/180m3.

2. SRO D641/1/2/175m6d; M.A. Rudd, "Abstracts of deeds relating to Chalford and Colcombe," Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc. LI (1929). p. 214.

3. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 33. Indentures for: Bagot, SRO D641/1/2/60m9d; Bradbury, SRO D641/1/2/56m10; Curzon, NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 35.

4. SRO D641/1/2/9m1.

5. Wedgwood, "Parliamentary history of Staffordshire," p. 177; Carter, "Notes on Staffordshire families," p. 115.

as Draycote's service as receiver overlapped that of Erdeswick as steward by a year or so in 1449-51. John Egerton, son of Ralph and grandson of John Dutton of Dutton, both retainers, married first into the Cotes family, then into the Gresleys. Ralph Egerton himself married into the Mainwaring family, as did John Needham, a lawyer retained by Stafford.¹ The Egertons also married into the Whitgreve family, and Richard Dalby of Brookhampton in Warwickshire, feodary from 1434,² married a daughter of John Barbour of Stafford. In Cause, a daughter of John Burgh, the steward, married William Mitton, a retainer, while the son of William Burley married a daughter of Thomas Littleton, another lawyer retained by Stafford. Such marriage alliances must have created a very closely-knit and homogeneous society which formed the backbone of Stafford's influence in the West Midlands, and probably similar conditions prevailed elsewhere, although to a less marked degree. Kent is in a class of its own in fact, and will be considered in the following chapter.

There are numerous examples of the estates officials and retainers acting for each other in a private capacity, in settlements of lands, fines, trusts and legal transactions of all kinds. Humfrey Cotes was one of the joint feoffees for John Joyce for his manors in Staffordshire. He was dead by 1454 when Joyce's son was bringing a case of recovery against the other fraudulent joint-feoffees in the settlement.³ Thomas Haydock, steward in Hampshire, was executor of the will of one of his predecessors there, John Freeman, in 1445,⁴ and as has already been mentioned, John Arthur was executor of Thomas Mille's will in 1460. Such

1. For all these examples, see under the relevant entries in Wedgwood, Biographies.

2. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 1.

3. Wrottesley, "Early Chancery Proceedings," p. 251.

4. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 438.

links crossed county boundaries. In 1439 John Andreux of Gloucestershire and John Halton of Staffordshire, feodary in Northamptonshire in 1440-41,¹ gave mainprise of an exchange lessee, Thomas Arblaster of Staffordshire.² In 1443, on the letters patent confirming a parcel of land in Stafford to Robert Whitgreve, appear the names William Hexstall, Hugh Erdeswick, Thomas Arblaster, John Harper, Humfrey Cotes and William Cumberford, all retained in Stafford's service.³ In 1445 William Hexstall was witness to the quit-claim of the manor and advowson of Longford, together with Humfrey Cotes, William Burley, John Harper and John Hampton.⁴ Philip Chetwynd, a retainer since 1431 and Stafford's Lieutenant in Calais for a few months in 1444, enfeoffed the manor of Ingestre and others to John Hampton and Robert Whitgreve, and the witnesses were Roger Aston, Hugh Erdeswick, Thomas Arblaster and Humfrey Cotes.⁵

There was of course the other side of the coin, seen in the Erdeswick-Draycote case in the 1420s, and the Vernon-Gresley feud of the 1450s, and in sundry other minor skirmishes, but examples of contact and cooperation between Stafford's retained men can be found throughout the Close and Patent Rolls of the period. In addition, of course, these men were acting together as counsellors of Stafford in his estate affairs, in enfeoffments and settlements, in legal matters and as commissioners and justices of the king in county affairs, establishing a firm pattern of private and public cooperation and association which could not but work to Stafford's advantage in terms of his influence and prestige in the shire. It is this aspect of the retainers' work that will be considered in the following chapter.

1. SRO D641/1/2/264m2.

2. Driver, "Parliamentary burgesses," p. 71.

3. Cal. Close Rolls 1441-47, p. 393

4. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1441-46, p. 229; Cal. Close Rolls 1441-47, p. 352.

5. Cal. Close Rolls 1435-41, p. 266.

CHAPTER TEN

COUNSELLORS AND RETAINERS : THEIR WORK

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. In the first place, we must consider the sort of work that the council was called upon to deal with. Knowledge of the general structure and power of the council is scanty but it would appear that its general purpose was to exist as an advisory body for the whole of the estates, to help in general supervision, to back up appointments, to hear the results of specific inquiries, to undertake negotiations on Stafford's behalf and, to some extent perhaps, to be responsible for policy. In Stafford's absence, it probably conducted his affairs. Since references to the council as a body on the accounts are relatively rare and usually rather vague, the work of individual counsellors and retainers will be included in this section. The second objective is to consider the council and its members as an adjunct to Stafford's prestige and influence in the shires and in national politics. As before, it is mainly the estate officials with whom we are concerned.

It would seem that all Stafford's retainers, whether estate or Household officials, or indentured retainers with no direct connection with the estates, could be included among his counsellors. One of the conditions of an indenture was usually that the retainer should help and advise Stafford and be ready at all times to serve him, his allegiance to the king permitting. On the accounts there are references to a "Great Council", to "his council" and to "his counsellors", although there are only two specific references on the account to the great council for the whole period 1423-60. The first occurs on the account

of the receiver of Kent and Surrey for 1428-30. The reference is to the expenses of the auditor's servant at Blechingley in January 1429 while the auditor and receiver were in London for the termination of the accounts and for other matters concerning Stafford's Household to be settled by the great council. There is also an entry concerning the costs of a man sent to lead the auditor's servant to Nettlestead near Sevenoaks, to warn the receiver to come to London with all speed,¹ probably to attend this council. There is no indication of the nature of the urgent business in London, nor of the composition of the council apart from auditor, receiver and, presumably, members of the Household. The only other reference to the existence of a great council comes at the end of this period, on the Oakham manor account for 1459-60, when two great councils were held in the space of this one year.² These were most likely convened to discuss the affairs of the realm and the possible effects on the fortunes of the Stafford family and estates in the tense period after the battle of Ludford and the flight of York to Ireland and of the earls of Salisbury and March to Calais to join Warwick. Presumably a great council, by its very name, implied a meeting of as many retainers and officials as could be mustered together, with Stafford himself always present, to discuss affairs of great importance either directly or indirectly relating to the estates. Unfortunately, neither reference here gives any details of its composition and scope, and we can only speculate on the reason for its meeting. However, it does seem evident that there was a "great council", to be distinguished from the more usual and frequent meetings of retainers.

T.B. Pugh, in his study of the Marcher lordships of South Wales, says, "No doubt the witnesses to Earl Humfrey's charter in 1427"³

1. SRO D641/1/2/231m9.

2. SRO D641/1/2/266m.2d.

3. Charter of confirmation of privilege of Newport borough, granted by/

constituted his Great Council which was at Newport two days earlier on 1 April of that year for the holding of the Great Sessions."¹ The witnesses, eleven of them, "et aliorum", include three knights and Hugh Erdeswick, William Burley, Thomas Arblaster and John Harper, who all already perhaps held office on the estates. Neither the Receiver-General, Thomas Barbour, nor the auditor, Henry Normanton, are included in the list and it seems unlikely, even at this date, that both should be absent from a meeting of a great council, or of sufficient unimportance to be delegated to the "et aliorum" of the charter witnesses. Normanton, at least, was one of the itinerant justices appointed for the Great Session.² There seems no real justification for regarding these witnesses as constituting a great council but the list of names provides useful information about Stafford's retainers at a period when other sources of information on the subject are lacking.³

There are various references on the accounts to meetings of a council, or of action being taken by the advice and assent of the council. In these references, the council is seen dealing with any and every detail of the business of the estates, and it is not always apparent that Stafford himself was present. At Newport in 1441 there was a meeting of the council at the time of the audit. The members named one Thomas Arblaster, who, in fact, rarely seems to have been absent from any council meeting as far as can be seen, but who was probably present in his official capacity as sheriff of the lordship; Henry Drury, a retainer and steward in Suffolk; "et aliorum de consilio

by Earl Hugh in 1385 (The Charters of the Borough of Newport in Gwynllwg, ed. W. Rees (Newport 1951), pp. 3-15).

1. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, p. 18.

2. Glam. R.O. D/DCM/45ml.

3. They include Sir John Gresley (d. 1449), Sir Robert Strelley, Sir William Thomas, Robert Greyndon of Gloucestershire, John Russell, a lawyer, and two royal officials, John Merbury and John Bedulf (Charters of the Borough of Newport, ed. Rees, p. 15).

domini", who obviously included both auditor and receiver.¹ Stafford himself is not mentioned as being present and there seems no reason from this or from other evidence to presume that he was in Newport at this time. Occasionally, as is the case here in Newport, a short list of names of the counsellors at a specific meeting is given, but usually the reference is to "the council", or to "counsellors" of the lord. It has been mentioned that all men in Stafford's service were his counsellors. It would seem that in each receivership there was something like a shadow council, consisting of receiver, steward and various other officials and retainers, and that a council meeting could be constituted merely by the meeting together of these men under the leadership of Stafford or, if he were not present, under the auditor. From such lists of names as are given when a council meeting is mentioned, it appears that the auditor is a constant element and that the composition of the council otherwise could vary according to the place, occasion, business in hand and to whoever of the retinue happened to be on hand. A council meeting seems very much a meeting of whoever was available at the time, but the auditor himself, after Stafford, was the one man with knowledge of the whole spectrum of estate affairs and, in effect, was likely to be better qualified than Stafford himself to speak knowledgeably on estate affairs as his annual audits were also annual inspections of the estates. By the late 1430s, the Receiver-General had lost his former position as chief manager of estate affairs to the auditor,² and he was not necessarily present at council meetings. He had no supervisory powers and took no part in the internal affairs of the other receiverships, and so his presence was required only at a meeting of the great council, or at a council meeting where affairs

1. PRO SC6 924/23m4d.

2. Above, Chapter VIII; passim.

concerning his own area were under discussion. In effect therefore there was no permanent or definitive body known as "the council". Provided that Stafford or the auditor, his deputy, were present, any meeting of retainers could constitute a council meeting at which the official element was likely to be well represented by receiver and steward.

Sometimes where a list of counsellors is given, it concludes with the vague phrase "et aliorum de consilio domini". This was probably a generic term to indicate the presence of various lawyers retained by Stafford. The names of at least twenty-nine lawyers retained during this period can be found, excluding those who were retained as stewards and in other official capacities. These lawyers were retained at a uniform fee of 40s. and always during pleasure only, so that while names like Robert Whitgreve,¹ William Cumberford, Thomas Young and Richard Chokke feature regularly over the period covered by the accounts, other names appear and disappear very quickly, and it may be that they were retained for specific negotiations only. Usually lawyers were retained purely and simply as counsellors, "ad essendum de consilio in lege", "destre nostre counceillor en loy", and employed on any business for which their services were available when required. Ralph Pole, serjeant at law, was retained "ad essendum in omnibus causis et negociis suis in lege fiendis" on the Staffordshire receiver's accounts from 1443, but by 1454 his name has disappeared from the accounts.² Others were retained for special purposes. Gerard de la Hay was retained in c.1445 "to dele for ye duc in all matters in ye king's exchequer",³ and John Holme in 1439/40 "to dele for him in all

1. Whitgreve, a lawyer, received ten marks from Newport. "Being bred up in ye study of ye municipall laws was much employed by Humfrey, earl of Stafford" (Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 941).

2. SRO D641/1/2/56m10d. He last appears on the 1452-53 account (SRO D641/1/2/58m10).

3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 77.

pleas and suitz in ye exchequer as well for him as against him".¹ Many lawyers were men of distinction in their profession. John Vampage, Attorney-General from 1429 until 1452, was retained by Stafford from February 1442; John Hody (d. 1441), Chief Justice of the King's Bench, was retained by 1437; Robert Danby, Justice of the Common Pleas in 1452, was retained from c.1443 and Walter Moyle, another Justice of the King's Bench from 1454, was also retained from c.1443.² Thomas Littleton, author of a treatise on land tenure in the fifteenth century and Justice of the Common Pleas from 1466, was retained from 1453.³ Richard Chokke, John Markham and William Yelverton, all raised to the Bench on the accession of Edward IV, were retained as Stafford's counsellors in law.⁴ An interesting retainer in law was Thomas Young from Bristol, retained from October 1446,⁵ who was a supporter of Richard, duke of York, and as such presented a petition to Parliament in June 1451 from his constituents, requesting the recognition of York as heir to the throne. For this he was imprisoned in the Tower, but released in 1452. His career under the Yorkists after 1460 prospered greatly, from his appointment as King's Serjeant in November 1463, to Justice of Common Pleas in November 1467, to Justice of King's Bench in 1475.⁶ He continued to be retained by Stafford until the end of Stafford's life in 1460. Most of the lawyers retained by Stafford were of course also

1. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 26.

2. SRO D641/1/2/270m5d; /167m8d; NLW Peniarth MS 280, fos. 69, 63.

3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 111. He held of Stafford lands in Mitton, Rule and Gretwich in Staffordshire by an indenture made with the tenant, John Chetwynd, in January 1452 (SRO D641/1/2/57m8d).

4. Chokke from 1453 until at least 1459/60 (SRO D641/1/2/176m7d); Markham and Yelverton were retained from April 1440 but the length of their service is unknown (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 25).

5. SRO D641/1/2/173m9d.

6. Wedgwood, Biographies, pp. 981-2.

retained by the king or by other lords.¹

The references to the council deal with a variety of topics. The council meeting at Newport in 1441 has already been referred to. The reference is, specifically, to the decision of the council to award 20s. to the collector of Stowe for his hard work.² There is a reference on the Staffordshire receiver's account of a council meeting at Maxstoke on 27 April 1443 when Stafford himself was present together with the auditor, William Weldon, and Thomas Arblaster and John Harper, both stewards for Warwickshire manors, Richard Witherton, a retainer since at least 1441,³ "and others". Presumably these included Humfrey Cotes, the Staffordshire receiver, since one of the matters dealt with was his petition for allowances for arrears on his account.⁴ Other references to the council and the matters which were brought before it include the grant of the tenement and mill of Holditch in Staffordshire for life to John Uvet and his wife on the Stafford receiver's account for 1437-38.⁵ It was on the advice of the council that the warrens at Tyso should not be farmed out in 1456-57, that the lease be cancelled and the warrens retained for the use of the Household, even though in 1449 they had been leased for a forty-year term.⁶ On the Stafford receiver's account for 1449-50 is the reminder that arrears on the earl of Warwick's tenements in Walsall should not be levied without first obtaining the

1. Of the list of serjeants at law retained by the Duchy of Lancaster from 1439 to c.1460, Stafford also retained Hody, Portington, Yelverton, Markham, Ashton, Ardern, Pole, Danby, Moyle, Chokke, Littleton and Young (Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, pp. 451-2)

2. PRO SC6 924/23m4d.

3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 41.

4. SRO D641/1/2/54m11.

5. PRO SC6 988/12m8d.

6. PRO SC6 1040/15m5. They had been leased for the forty-year term from April 1449 (SRO D641/1/2/272m4).

advice of the council on the matter,¹ and in Brecon in 1454-55 there is another reference to a petition for allowance of payments to the late receiver, to be brought before Stafford and the council.² Affairs moved slowly in Brecon for the late receiver, Sir John Scudamore, had been out of office since January 1451. In the same lordship and on the same account, the receiver records his expenses and costs for the digging and carrying of sand, the buying of lime and other materials for the repair of part of the castle wall towards Uske, but says that allowance of payment could not be made until the work was seen by Stafford or his council. On all these matters on the accounts, the reference is to "the council"; no specific names are given. On the Stafford account for 1442-43, however, mention is made of the expenses of a law-suit concerning Bosley manor in Cheshire, a manor which Stafford had acquired by exchange of lands with Ralph Macclesfield. The manor was claimed by Sir Thomas Stanley of Elwood, and action on Stafford's behalf was conducted by the receiver in Staffordshire, Humfrey Cotes, with Richard Witherton "and others".³ Some of these others are named on the 1445-46 account, when the case was finally settled. The "Foreign expenses" entry includes the expenses of Ralph Pole, serjeant, William Cumberford, Thomas Duncalf, Robert Whitgreve, John Andreux and Humfrey Cotes and others of the council, and their servants "to the number of at least thirty men", riding to Chester in April 1446 to hear the plea on a writ of right brought by Stanley. The verdict was in Stanley's favour, and in July Thomas Duncalf, Humfrey Cotes, John Andreux, their servants and others to a total of twelve men, rode to Chester to hear the judgement and then to Bosley to deliver seisin to

1. SRO D641/1/2/20m3.

2. SRO D641/1/2/22m2.

3. SRO D641/1/2/54m9d.

Stanley.¹

References to the council as a body are rare and it may now be of use to turn to entries on the accounts of the activities of individual counsellors to see more of the scope of a counsellor's work on Stafford's behalf. Much of the work was, inevitably, connected with the estates themselves. Nicholas Poyntz and Robert Whitgreve were the two main agents for Stafford in the recovery of Holderness lordship in the summer of 1439. This lordship had been held by Stafford's mother at the time of her death and the inquest post mortem declared that Stafford was her heir and of age. Despite this, the king refused to deliver seisin to him, and there began a year of great activity and intensive work to recover the lordship.² When, in June 1439, Stafford accompanied a royal embassy to France to negotiate for a truce, he had to leave the Holderness affair in the hands of his counsellors. A letter to him from Poyntz and Whitgreve survives, telling him of their efforts and progress on his behalf.³ Livery of the lordship was finally granted on 19 August 1439.

It is likely that the council acted for Stafford in the buying and selling of lands, although there was not a great deal of activity in this direction on the Stafford estates during this period. In 1446/7, however, a directive was sent to William Rookwood, steward in Norfolk, to sell all houses belonging to the manor of Sheringham "at ye best price, reserving to us a hous for the holding of oure court".⁴ This is interesting in view of the fact that by the time of Stafford's death his inquest post mortem return for Norfolk does not include his manors of

1. SRO D641/1/2/56 m11.

2. Above, p. 53.

3. SRO D641/1/11/124; also ~~cf.~~ below, p35455

4. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 89.

Sheringham, Welles or Warham, and the possibility is that they had been sold off.¹

The council acted for Stafford in his absences abroad. In 1439, because of his absence in France, the Receiver-General's account shows a certain amount of activity by various counsellors on Stafford's behalf. The auditor was busy in London securing the letters patent of a grant of 200 marks from the king to Stafford, and obtaining various writs and documents in the Chancery and Exchequer. The Receiver-General was also busy, clearing up difficulties arising from the fact that the process issued by the chancery of a grant of lands and fee-farms to Stafford in May 1438² had not agreed with the original letters patent of the grant, and new letters patent had to be obtained so that there could be no question of the validity of the grant. As well as the obtaining and enrolling of the new letters patent, writs of liberate and allocate had to be obtained before the Treasurer and barons of the Exchequer would release the manors and fee-farms; audited accounts of the manors prior to their release had also to be obtained, with a writ of fieri facias to the sheriff of Lancashire to get the issues of the manor of Netherwiresdale delivered to Stafford for the period 2 May to Michaelmas 1438. This writ the Receiver-General paid to have carried among the royal writs, for greater security. He also had the Clerks of the Treasury and of the Remembrancer's Office copy various writs and evidences, to be held as records and produced before the council.³

In 1441, Thomas Arblastar acted for Stafford in the mortgaging of Talgarth and Jonesfield manors to him by Lord Berkeley, Berkeley's representative in the transaction being Nicholas Poyntz, for once not

1. Above, p. 58.

2. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1436-41, p. 275.

3. SRO D641/1/2/15m7.

acting as Stafford's man.¹ Poyntz was frequently involved in negotiations concerning the disputed lands of the Bohun settlement of 1421, Cantref Selyf and Bronlles, half the annual farm of which Stafford had inherited from his mother in 1438. There are references on Poyntz' accounts as Gloucester receiver to his travelling to London to discuss the affairs of these lands with Stafford,² and before he left office in March 1454 Stafford sent a warrant to his auditor to allow on Poyntz' accounts various sums for the farm of Cantref Selyf and Bronlles which Poyntz had paid to the sheriffs of Gloucestershire between 1444 and 1451,³ although for what and why these payments were made is not mentioned. Total payment amounted to £78.1.2½, and the annual amounts varied, from £5.1.2½ in 1444-45, £10 in 1446-47 and 1450-51, £20 in 1447-48 and twenty marks in 1449-50. In October 1446, Humfrey Cotes, the Stafford receiver, Thomas Arblaster and others to the number of twenty-four men were sent to Lichfield for the inquest of "diem clausit extremum" held before the eschaetor of the county for the lands of Henry Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who had died in June of that year.⁴

Counsellors were frequently employed by Stafford for negotiations in the law-courts in London, and on various other official business. In April 1446, John Andreux was granted a reward of £6.13.4 "for his hard work in hastening various matters in the King's courts", and in 1454-55 he received money for his expenses and costs "in certain negotiations at Westminster in the royal courts, and for various writs concerning the same affair".⁵ The Receiver-General received his

1. SRO D641/1/2/167.

2. SRO D641/1/2/171m7d; /173m9.

3. NLW Peniarth MS 280 fo. 112; SRO D641/1/2/176m7d.

4. SRO D641/1/2/56m11.

5. SRO D641/1/2/172m7; /216m6.

expenses for living in London in September 1450 after Stafford's own departure for Maxstoke, "to expedite various matters" on Stafford's behalf, and on the same account he paid the auditor's expenses in London for examining various accounts of all the lordships, English and Welsh, and for examining old accounts in the Treasury.¹ The auditor was again in London in 1456-57 to carry out various negotiations for Stafford at the Exchequer, and for other matters.² In 1449-50 it was again the auditor who conducted various negotiations concerning the appointment of Stafford's nominee as collector of the customs at Sandwich, a right granted him as security for repayment of the arrears of over £19,000 owed him for his term as Captain of Calais from 1442 to 1450. In the following year the auditor was working in London with John Andreux on Stafford's appointment as Constable of Dover Castle, and for the sealing of the formal letters patent of his appointment.³ The Receiver-General was employed as an emissary from Stafford, riding in 1444 from Stafford Castle to Portsmouth to await the arrival of Richard of York from Rouen and to discuss with him various matters, and in 1456/7 he rode from Maxstoke to Berkhamstead with various letters and other matters to put before the queen.⁴

Retainers and counsellors were often used to act as feoffees to use or as witnesses in other land settlements or transactions by Stafford. In 1427, Henry Normanton, his auditor, with Richard Ruyton, the receiver in Kent, and William Hexstall, John Warner of Navesby and Richard Burgham,⁵ were appointed his attorneys in the settlement to use of a

1. SRO D641/1/2/21m7.

2. SRO D641/1/2/23m7.

3. SRO D641/1/2/21m7; PRO SC6 1305/4m4.

4. SRO D641/1/2/18m6; /23m7.

5. Cal. Close Rolls 1422-29, p. 318.

large number of manors to joint-feoffees who included Hugh Erdeswick, John Salvayn, Henry Drury, John Harper, Robert Whitgreve and Thomas Barbour, all retained by him, as well as the bishops of Ely and Bath and Wells, and the earls of Warwick and Suffolk and his half-brother Henry Bouchier. Thomas Arblaster and John Harper both acted as feoffees for the settlement of the manors of Tonbridge and others in Kent in April 1435, and of Blechingley in Surrey in June 1435.¹ John Harper again acted for him as feoffee in the Kymbolton settlement of 1443,² and in the Holderness settlement of 1447. In this last, the feoffees were appointed "to do the last will of the grantor", and they included the Archbishop of Canterbury, the duke of York, the marquess of Dorset, Stafford's three half-brothers, Sir Humfrey Stafford of Grafton, and Richard Witherton, John Heaton, John Harper, Robert Whitgreve, William Cumberford and John Andreux.³ In 1458 Stafford settled various Gloucestershire manors on himself and his wife jointly.⁴ On the receiver's account for the year, expenses were paid to Thomas Berkeley and Thomas Mille, the receiver and steward, and to Ralph Tickhill and William Draper, members of the Household, with their servants and horses, at the manors of Thornbury, Eastington, Alkerton and Haresfield at Pentecost "to deliver seisin and receive to use of the Lady Anne of and in the manors, together with the expenses of various gentlemen and valets of the neighbourhood and tenants of the manors coming to the seisin".⁵

The counsellors were frequently involved in the affairs of Stafford

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1. Cal. Close Rolls 1429-35, p. 357; Cal. Pat. Rolls 1429-36, p. 466.
 2. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1441-46, p. 133.
 3. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1446-52, p. 78.
 4. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1452-61, p. 469.
 5. SRO D641/1/2/180ml.

and of his family. On the Kent receiver's account for 1444-45, the expenses of the receiver and William Peach, esquire, and ten valets "de vestura domini" were paid from Tonbridge to Writtle for the baptism of Stafford's daughter Margaret.¹ On the Stafford receiver's account for 1457-58, the receiver and William Forster, a clerk of the Household, rode to take seisin of the castle and lordship of Alton in Staffordshire, Swynfield, Church Woodhouse and Uston in Derbyshire and Coccaswall manor in Herefordshire, according to the charter of the marriage settlement of the Lady Katherine Stafford to John Talbot, heir to the earl of Shrewsbury.² The receiver of Newport in 1456-57 was employed in the negotiations leading to the marriage of Sir Henry Stafford, Stafford's second son, to Margaret Beaufort, the young widow of the earl of Richmond and a great heiress in her own right. The sum of £14.13.4 was put in respite as the expenses of the receiver riding at Stafford's command with a retinue of twenty-four men to Pembroke for certain discussions with Margaret's uncle by marriage, Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke. The business to be discussed was specified in certain letters to the receiver but not elaborated on in the account.³

It was in the Marcher lordships of Newport and Brecon that Stafford's officials and retainers served him to great effect as itinerant justices appointed by Stafford to dissolve the Great Sessions on his behalf. The Marcher lord, besides his rights of building castles without royal licence and of levying war, could act outside the sphere of the king's courts of common law. This right to hold courts of Great

1. SRO D641/1/2/233m2d.

2. SRO D641/1/2/62m12. On the Gloucester receiver's account for the same year, the cost is recorded of sending sixteen does from the parks of Gloucestershire to Maxstoke for the marriage feast (SRO D641/1/2/179m1).

3. PRO SC6 924/25m11d.

Session was one of his most valuable and important rights. In the fifteenth century, commissions of Great Sessions were issued every five to seven years, with comprehensive criminal and civil jurisdiction. In effect, these courts were more a means of extorting large sums of money than a means of punishing criminals, for usually no pleas were heard and the inhabitants of the lordship paid a fine to have the courts dissolved immediately. The tenants benefitted, in that they had an obligation to attend, and fines for non-attendance were very heavy. The courts were usually convened at particularly inconvenient times like the spring sowing or autumn harvest. In return for the fine, the lord offered a general pardon, which probably excluded the felonious criminals, and he was guaranteed a large increase in revenue in exchange for the far greater effort involved in holding the courts and collecting penalties. In Newport lordship the Great Sessions were redeemed at 1000 marks and in Brecon at 2000 marks, the fine in both cases to be collected over a term of years.

As far as we can tell from the surviving evidence, commissions for Great Sessions were issued in Newport in April 1427, April 1432, February 1441, January 1445, June 1449 and March 1456, and in Brecon in January 1440, January 1443, May 1444, March 1446 and October 1450. The frequency of the Brecon commissions in the 1440s may go some way to account for Stafford's unpopularity in the lordship, although in June 1440, after issuing his first commission for the Sessions in Brecon in January 1440, he graciously remitted part of their fines to the tenants of the lordships — 100 marks to the tenants of Brecon, £10 to Huntingdon and ten marks to Hay lordship.¹

The commission was composed of a number of itinerant justices, and

1. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 28.

their names survive for most commissions. The list is usually headed by the name of one or two members of the local nobility, sometimes men not retained formally by Stafford but within his circle of well-willers. Edmund, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, heads the list of the commission for Newport in 1432,¹ Sir Humfrey Stafford of Grafton the Brecon commission of 1440 and the Newport commission of 1441;² James, Lord Audley, is on both the Brecon commission of 1443 and the Newport commission of 1445,³ and John Bouchier, Stafford's half-brother and a retainer, heads the list of Brecon commissioners in March 1446.⁴ The other commissioners were a combination of "lay" retainers and lawyers and estate officials, with the official element predominant. The 1432 Newport commission included Ferrers, Robert Greyndor, a Gloucestershire knight, John Russell and William Lee, both lawyers and both probably retained by Stafford although there is no documentary evidence, John Harper, steward of Anne Stafford's estates and probably also already retained by her son as an auditor in Newport,⁵ Henry Normanton, the auditor, Thomas Whitgreve and Thomas Arblaster who were probably already respectively receiver and steward of the lordship, William Munden, steward of the Household, and Robert Whitgreve, a retainer since at least 1430.⁶ In 1445, in Newport, the commission consisted of Audley and Sir Richard Vernon of Haddon, retained since 1440, Miles Scull and William Cumberford, both retained lawyers, William Burley, steward in Cause, Thomas Arblaster, sheriff of Newport, Kynard de la

1. SRO D641/1/4U/2, court rolls of Newport.

2. NLW Peniarth MS 280, p. 3, no. 30; fo. 38.

3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 55; PRO SC6 924/23m10.

4. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 83.

5. "Johannis Harpour, auditori count en Gales" in 1439-40, NLW Peniarth MS 280, p. 2, no. 18.

6. SRO D641/1/2/4U/2m1.

Bere and John Joyce, respectively steward and receiver in Brecon, and William Weldon, the auditor.¹ To turn to examples for Brecon, the 1440 commission reads thus: Stafford of Grafton and Richard Vernon, knights, John Portington, Thomas Mollesley and Miles Scull, lawyers, William Burley, Thomas Arblaster and John Joyce, whose offices were as above, John Abrahale, the then steward in Brecon, Thomas Mille and Nicholas Poyntz, respectively steward and receiver in the Gloucester receivership, and John Harper and Henry Drury, stewards in Warwickshire and Suffolk.² Three years later, in 1443, the list consists of Audley, Stafford's half-brother William Bourchier, whom he does not seem to have retained, Richard Vernon and John Mainwaring, knights, Miles Scull and William Cumberford, William Burley, Thomas Arblaster, John Abrahale and his successor as steward Kynard de la Bere, John Joyce, John Harper and the retainer Richard Witherton.³

It can be seen that the same counsellors would be used repeatedly as commissioners, with minor variations in personnel to introduce fresh blood. Men could serve as justices in both lordships, and officials from other receiverships, like Burley of Cause and Poyntz and Mille of Gloucestershire, could be included in the commissions. Officials of Newport and Brecon regularly served on commissions in the other lordship. A quorum of men was usually appointed from the number of justices before the work of the commission could be properly instituted. In Newport in 1432, the quorum consisted of John Harper and the two lawyers, Lee and Russell. In Brecon in 1443, there was a quorum of six, Harper,

1. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 74.

2. NLW Peniarth MS 280, p. 3, no. 30. Portington was retained in April 1440, and Scull at about the same time (fos. 25, 27). A Thomas Mollesley is mentioned on the Stafford receiver's account for 1450-51, when a messenger is sent to him in Lichfield to tell him not to expect William Cumberford as he is detained and with Stafford (SRO D641/1/2/57m11).

3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 55.

Burley, Arblaster, Joyce, Scull and Cumberford. In all commissions, the justices were experienced and trusted men, with the officio-legal element predominating to a marked degree. The proper exercise of his judicial rights and authority was perhaps the most important aspect of a marcher lord's powers, and it seems likely that the men chosen for these commissions were chosen less for prestige reasons, apart from the head of the commission, who was not usually one of the quorum, than for their high place in the hierarchy of Stafford's most useful, loyal and experienced counsellors in the area.

We must now turn our attention towards the more political aspects of the work of counsellors, in particular of the estate officials. To start from a very practical aspect, it may have been noticed that the officials themselves, in their work, were often accompanied by a retinue of men and servants. As a further example, there is the payment of the expenses by the receiver in Kent in 1445-46 for himself, John Pympe, Richard Brown, Hugh Stanlowe, Richard Culpeper and Alexander Eden, esquires, Thomas Hexstall and twenty valets "de vestura domini", together with men and servants to the total number of sixty men, riding with Stafford via Gravesend to Writtle in order to meet Henry VI on his return from a pilgrimage to Walsingham in Norfolk.¹ John Poyntz, son of the Gloucester receiver, who does not appear to have been a retainer of Stafford, rode from Thornbury to Hereford with a retinue of twenty-four, to meet Stafford on his way to Brecon in 1448-49.² It was necessary for a lord, or a lord's officials or retainers, to travel accompanied by a retinue of suitable proportions, not only for safety but as a demonstration of prestige and authority by the lord or by his

1. SRO D641/1/2/233m2d.

2. SRO D641/1/2/174m8.

counsellors on his behalf.

It would seem obvious from the accounts that it was the estate officials who were entrusted with the work of advising the retainers of Stafford's movements and orders, of mustering the yeomen of the retinue in the shires, for organizing and paying the way of this display of strength and support behind Stafford and, in effect, of holding the retinue together as an effective body when necessary. In March 1446, Humfrey Cotes, receiver in Staffordshire, was riding around Cheshire on Stafford's orders, warning various men retained in his service to be ready to sail for France,¹ a journey which in fact never took place. In the same year, the Kent receiver sent a messenger around Kent and Surrey to take Stafford's letters to various knights, squires and gentlemen to summons them together. The object of this exercise seems to have been to obtain their presence at Maidstone for a commission of oyer and terminer, headed by Stafford, and in particular, at a case concerning the death of one John Mongeham. In the end, however, Stafford did not arrive, the expenses of his retainers were paid, they were dismissed and the provisions laid in for them were sold off at a loss.²

Both these examples given are for times of peace; the work assumed greater importance in the times of increased tension in the country in the 1450s. In May and June 1450, Stafford summoned some seventy yeomen from Staffordshire to be brought "to await upon him in London" by the officials of the receivership, Roger Draycote the receiver, Humfrey Cotes the former receiver, and William Mitton, a retainer or well-willer.³ For the next six years on the Staffordshire

1. SRO D641/1/2/56m11.

2. SRO D641/1/2/233m2d.

3. SRO D641/1/2/20m3.

accounts knights, squires and gentlemen in his service in Staffordshire, Cheshire and Lancashire were warned from time to time to be ready to come to him defensively arrayed and at short notice,¹ and it was obviously through the estate officials that such orders were transmitted. Roger Draycote's account for 1450-51 contains several such entries. A messenger was sent to warn all valets of his retinue in Cheshire and Staffordshire to be ready on three days' warning; messengers were sent to carry letters from Stafford to Sir John Burgh, Sir Nicholas Longford, Sir John Curzon and various other local notables of his retinue; sixty valets were summoned to ride in the company of the king with Stafford to Atherstone "versus Thoman Mallory, militem",² and various valets were warned to be with Stafford at Leicester in the king's company. The receiver himself rode to Stone to warn various men against taking any livery or badges from any person, against Stafford's wishes or without his permission.³ At Brecon in 1449-50, the receiver was paid £40 for garrisoning the castle for twenty weeks, and for various journeys undertaken on Stafford's orders to various places,⁴ although the cause of this activity is unknown. Ninety men from Kent and Surrey were rewarded for being at St. Albans with Stafford in 1455 by the Kent receiver,⁵ and ministers elsewhere were probably equally busy with this aspect of their work of organizing Stafford's retinue of counsellors, retainers and their retinues on a county-wide or country-wide scale when necessary.

1. SRO D641/1/2/57m11; /58m11; /59m11; /22m3; /60m10; /62m12.

2. SRO D641/1/2/57m11. The cause of the call to arms against Mallory, author of the Morte d'Arthur, is obscure (Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 567).

3. SRO D641/1/2/57m11d.

4. SRO D641/1/2/20m1.

5. SRO D641/1/2/22m7d.

In general, it was the rule on Stafford's estates that local officials in the receiverships should be men of the area, the reason being that as local men they would have local knowledge, local ties, local loyalties and connections, and an understanding of local feeling that men introduced into positions of authority from outside the area could not expect to have. This made good sense and was of great importance in winning the cooperation of the retainers and the shires in general to Stafford's side. In Staffordshire lay the heartlands of Stafford interest and influence and the greatest number of officials and retainers were from this and adjacent counties. It is here that the tradition of family service to the Stafford House began, and in consequence Staffordshire was the most strongly pro-Lancastrian of all counties, even after Edward IV's accession.¹

There seem to have been two exceptions to the general rule of local men in positions of authority. The first was the appointment of John Joyce of Hanchurch and Blurton, Staffordshire, as receiver of Brecon shortly after Stafford inherited the lordship. In 1454, after his death, he is named as "John Joyce, esquire, of Brecon", in a law-suit brought by his son Thomas to recover the Staffordshire manors which the surviving feoffees refused to surrender.² The move from Staffordshire to Brecon was not a great one, and the appointment does not appear to have had any serious repercussions, unless it may be seen as a contributory factor in Stafford's unpopularity in Brecon. Succeeding receivers were men of the neighbourhood.

The second example of the appointment of an outsider concerns the administrative structure of the Kent and Surrey receivership. From the

1. G. Wrottesley, "A history of the family of Wrottesley of Wrottesley," William Salt Arch. Soc. VI, pt. 2 (1903), p. 217.

2. Early Chancery Proceedings, ed. Wrottesley, p. 251.

the earlier accounts it would appear that Ruyton and Colet, receivers from c.1423 to 1438, were local men. In 1438, however, began the policy of introducing men from Staffordshire into office in Kent. William Hexstall of Milwich, Staffordshire, became receiver in May of this year, although until then he had been pursuing an active political career in Staffordshire, serving as eschaetor, sub-sheriff, and member for Stafford borough in Parliament in 1437. Traces of previous connection with Kent are scarce. He was witness to the quitclaim of manors in Kent, Essex and London to various joint-feoffees who included Stafford and his own brother, Thomas, in 1432.¹ More significant perhaps is the lease to him of the demesne lands of Blechingley and Stangrave manors in Surrey in 1435,² although he remained still based in Staffordshire. Within ten years of his move to Kent he was, probably through Stafford's backing, developing a career in local affairs there, to the extent of identifying himself with the Kentish gentry during Cade's rebellion in 1450. Stafford himself was one of the commissioners appointed to try the rebel leaders in Kent, but his attitude to Hexstall's involvement is unknown, as is, in fact, the extent of this involvement. He received a pardon in 1452 and is named as "William Hexstall of East Peckham, esquire, alias of Bramley, Staffordshire, alias late of Hexstall". His involvement was probably very slight as he remained receiver in Kent and Surrey until 1460 and continued his career there unchecked, as member for Kent in 1453-54, eschaetor in 1455-57, justice of the peace from 1455 to 1458 and a commissioner from 1450 until May 1460, including the commissions of array of December 1459 and early 1460.³

It is interesting to see that other members of this family followed

1. Cal. Close Rolls 1429-36, p. 187.

2. SRO D641/1/2/233m10(5).

3. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 450.

Hexstall to Kent in Stafford's service. They were younger brothers of William and had not the same record of previous service in Staffordshire. Thomas Hexstall, a member of the Household until c.1450, was farmer of Stafford's manor of Portley in Surrey by 1445/6, and was in office as receiver in Dover in 1454, and the likelihood is that he was appointed soon after Stafford became Constable of Dover Castle in 1450. He held office until Stafford's death and was prominent in Kentish affairs until his own death in 1484.¹ Henry Hexstall was chamberlain and larderer of Tonbridge between at least 1445 and 1454, at 40s. per annum salary,² and yet another brother, Hugh, was presented to the Surrey livings of Chipstead in 1441 and Blechingley in 1451.³ In the wake of the Hexstalls came another Staffordshire man, Richard Brown, steward of Kent from 1450. He had been member for Newcastle under Lyme in 1435, for Stafford in 1442 and 1449(1), and commissioner in Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Warwickshire. In 1439 he had appeared on Kentish commissions; he was with the Kent receiver on Stafford's business there in 1444-45, and on commissions there again from 1450, after his appointment as Stafford's steward in Kent.⁴

This use of officials from Staffordshire in Kent is a departure from the general trend of estate management, where the local official's influence is all-important and pervasive, and it may account for the fact that Stafford possessed so little influence himself there, despite the fact that he held wide estates round Tonbridge, the fact that from 1450 he was Constable of Dover and the fact that he served on many commissions in Kent. He seems to have neglected his position in Kent

1. SRO D641/1/2/233m1d; /22m8; Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 449.

2. SRO D641/1/2/233mml, 2d; /234m1.

3. NLW Peniarth MS 280, fos. 46, 108.

4. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 120; SRO D641/1/2/234m2.

and Surrey to an amazing degree, for very few members of the nobility or gentry of the area were retained by him,¹ and Kent, the centre of Cade's uprising in 1450, was almost entirely pro-Yorkist in 1460.

Stafford's error in introducing outsiders to key positions there, and the fact that they were probably unable to gain acceptance by the local gentry despite the fact that with Stafford's backing they were able to make careers for themselves locally, may explain the lack of support in Kent, but not perhaps the hostility which one of the reports of the battle of Northampton reflects in the statement that Stafford was slain before the king's tent, by the men of Kent.²

The careers of the Hexstalls bring us to a consideration of the influence of Stafford's counsellors generally, in national and local politics, and to how far they were able to establish his local ascendancy by performing services in county offices as a complement to their military functions as members of his retinue. By far the greater majority of Stafford's counsellors and retainers were drawn from the ranks of the county squires and gentlemen; a comparatively small number were knights, but this is hardly surprising in view of the fact that c.1439 and the years immediately after, the number of knights in England was probably at a minimum.³ The only peers among his indentured retainers were John Bouchier, Lord Berners, *iure uxoris*, his half-brother, and Lord Stafford, his son. Most retainers were from prominent and substantial county families. Certainly, they were not unemployed veterans of the French wars. Excluding the estate staff who were, in most cases, drawn from their own localities, we can identify a possible total of 102 retainers from the accounts and other sources, with a

1. Above, pp. 221-22.

2. "An English Chronicle," ed. Davies, p. 97.

3. Wedgwood, *Biographies*, Introduction, p. xxxv.

number of others who were certainly connected with his service although not perhaps by formal indentures. Of the ninety-eight who can be identified with counties, no less than forty-eight can be associated with the counties belonging to the home-lands of the Staffords — Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Derbyshire, Cheshire and the marcher counties of Shropshire and Herefordshire. A further nine can be connected with the adjacent counties of Leicestershire and Rutland, Nottinghamshire and Northamptonshire. There are thirteen from the south-western counties, nine from East Anglia and Essex, and the remainder from the various other areas with which Stafford was familiar — Holderness, Kent and the marcher lordships. Very few were retained from Newport or Brecon lordships, or from Kent and Surrey where Stafford's influence was very slight, as has already been pointed out.

In the sphere of national politics, it is very difficult to support the idea that the lords in Parliament dominated the Commons by placing their servants there from a study of Stafford's counsellors, officials and retainers who were returned to Parliament. Two considerations have to be taken into account here, the first being the number of counsellors in a given parliament, especially in any dominated by party consciousness, either Lancastrian or Yorkist, and the second being the question of whether a lord was introducing his servants into Parliament, or whether his servants were chosen from the class which returned its members to Parliament as a matter of course, the important point here being the date of the indenture. From a study of Stafford's counsellors in the parliaments until the Parliament of Devils in 1459, it would seem that Stafford made little effort to get his men returned to Parliament, and that the great majority of those who did attend one or more parliaments had begun their parliamentary careers before entering his service. It might be possible to establish that he secured

seats for a small number of counsellors, and that these were his estate officials rather than indentured retainers who, by virtue of their status in the counties, might expect as a matter of course to attend at least one parliament during their careers.

In most parliaments, we can count on between five to fifteen Stafford men in the Commons. He had a possible total of fourteen counsellors in the 1450-51 parliament where the reaction against Suffolk demanded an Act of Resumption and the acknowledgment of York as heir to the throne. This demand was in fact made by a lawyer retained by Stafford since 1446, Thomas Young of Bristol, who, despite his imprisonment for his action, continued to be retained until 1460,¹ a fact which might indicate that Stafford dissociated himself from placing men in Parliament with any specific intention of dominating their freedom of action. William Tresham, a Stafford retainer since at least 1438, and a retainer of Stafford's mother since February 1430,² took a prominent part in the previous parliament, especially in Suffolk's impeachment, presenting the formal indictment by the Commons to the Lords in February 1450.³ There would seem to be no question of Stafford supporting Tresham's action or of his dominating his career in Parliament, for he had sat as member for Northamptonshire in eleven parliaments, the first of which was in 1423, and in three of which he had been Speaker. Stafford had only five counsellors in the Coventry parliament of November 1459, said to be packed with Lancastrian supporters, although this figure is probably an understatement as up to eighty names of returned members are missing. Only a total of eight Stafford men, including two well-willers, were in the pro-Lancastrian parliament

1. Above, p. 224.

2. SRQ D641/1/2/15m6; /12m5.

3. Wedgwood, Biographies, pp. 871-2.

called at Bury St. Edmunds by Suffolk in 1447.

Only fifteen men from Stafford's entire retinue, officials and retainers can be found, as far as is known, to have sat for Parliament after entering his service. Some of his counsellors were almost professional members of Parliament. William Burley, Speaker in two parliaments, was a Stafford retainer perhaps as early as 1427, but sat in his first parliament as member for Shropshire in 1417, and in eighteen parliaments thereafter, until 1455-56.¹ Like Young and Tresham, his views inclined towards the Yorkist party. The only parliaments from which he was absent were the strongly Lancastrian parliaments of 1447 and 1453, in neither of which was Stafford's following large. Two other Stafford retainers who were practically professional members were Robert Whitgreve, who sat in a possible total of twenty-two parliaments,² and John Harper who sat in twelve.³ The careers of both began during Stafford's minority, however, Whitgreve sitting in his first parliament in 1411 and his last in 1449-50, Harper in his first in 1419 until the 1461/2 parliament. Both were obviously useful and experienced men to have in the Commons, but their significance is reduced by the fact that they sat for Stafford borough for most of their careers, Whitgreve until 1442 and Harper until 1430, and for the county only at the end of their lives. Members representing the boroughs were still regarded as the least important element in Parliament.

It is likely that Stafford's influence could have procured seats for a small number of his counsellors in isolated parliaments.⁴ John

1. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 139.

2. Ibid., p. 941.

3. Wedgwood, "Parliamentary history of Staffordshire," p. 193.

4. For the following examples, see the relevant entries in Wedgwood's Biographies.

Heaton, his Receiver-General from 1437, was returned for Buckinghamshire in two parliaments, 1449(1) and 1450-51; William Heaton, steward in Nottinghamshire and Rutland, was returned for Rutland in 1442. John Gain[sford], steward in Surrey in 1441-42, was member for Surrey in the 1453-54 parliament and Thomas Arblaster, member for Staffordshire in 1426 and in the parliaments of the 1430s, may have owed his seat to his connections with the Stafford family, although this was Stafford's first parliament too. Humfrey Whitgreve, parker in Stafford and son of Robert Whitgreve, sat for Stafford borough in 1449-50 and 1450-51, and John Barbour represented the same borough in 1450-51, 1453-54 and 1455-56, both perhaps securing their seats through Stafford's influence. The Whitgreves, Harpers and Barbours between them represented the seat in practically every parliament in the first sixty years of the fifteenth century. Blechingley borough, which returned Thomas Hextall to his first parliament in 1447, was another borough which returned several Stafford retainers to various parliaments. Nicholas Poyntz, member for Gloucestershire in 1431, Thomas Mille, member for the same county in 1435, 1439-40 and 1449(1), and John Andreux, member for Gloucester borough in 1437, 1449, 1450-51 and 1455-56, may have owed their seats in the first instances to their service to Anne Stafford.

The number of Stafford retainers in any one parliament, whether they sat before or after signing indentures of service to Stafford, is too small to be of much significance. W.H. Dunham reaches the same conclusion concerning the retainers of Lord Hastings who, he says, constituted "hardly a faction, let alone a group". He goes on to suggest however that if peers were bound together in alliance and each returned a sufficient number of retainers to Parliament, they could direct and carry through the government's bills and policies in this way.¹ The

1. Dunham, "Lord Hastings' indentured retainers," p. 34.

evidence is insufficient for Stafford's counsellors to say more than that Stafford probably followed the current practice of obtaining a few seats for his officials and retainers, especially for his boroughs like Stafford and Blechingley, but that, in the majority of cases, his retainers held seats before they joined his service, and Stafford probably took the initiative in seeking their services and support. Many of his most trusted estate officials, men like Kemeys, Draycote, Berkeley, Woldon, Drury and Cotes, sat in no parliament at all.

It is perhaps in the men who served as sheriffs, eschaetors and justices of the peace in the counties that a truer estimate of the political significance of a lord's counsellors may be seen.¹ The office of sheriff was still the most important and sought after, for the sheriff was the king's chief representative in each county. The office went to local knights and squires, three names being chosen by the Chancery and one being pricked by the king. The eschaetor was the royal official next in importance as the king's agent in matters of feudal death rates and duties. The office usually went to the cadets of the local gentry and to lawyers, the eschaetor being appointed on the nomination of the Treasurer, presumably on the advice of the sheriff. As before, the most significant numbers of Stafford officials holding down these offices are to be found in the West Midland shires. Between 1422 and 1460 retainers and well-willers held the office of sheriff in Staffordshire for a total of eighteen years, the list including names like Erdeswick, Aston, Vernon, Egerton, Basset and Cotes. In Shropshire, Stafford's men controlled the office for a total of seven years, as was the case in Herefordshire. In Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire

1. Again, references can be found in Wedgwood's Biographies, or in the biographical notes on the estate officials, below, pp. 375-403

the total was five years. Figures elsewhere are of little significance although a number of counsellors held the office in their various counties, Thomas Mille in Gloucestershire in 1445, Heaton in Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire in 1458-60, Thomas Uvedale of Wickham, steward in Hampshire, in Surrey and Sussex in 1437-38 and four times in Hampshire between 1438-64. The same situation applies in the case of eschaetor, held for a total of nineteen years by counsellors in Staffordshire, five in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, four in Shropshire and three each in Worcestershire and Herefordshire. Again, it is mainly for the Midland and Marcher counties that the figures seem to be of significance in total of years. In general terms, it may be said that the office of sheriff went to indentured retainers, that of eschaetor to the estate officials like Cotes, Poyntz and Berkeley, Heaton, Hexstall, Whitgreve, Joyce and Draycote, in accordance with a Council ordinance of 1426, which reaffirmed the provision of the Statute of ~~Lincoln~~ ¹³⁹⁰ that no bailiff or steward of a lord should be sheriff unless he were unemployed.¹ A sheriff rarely held office more than twice, but eschaetors sometimes held office for several years at intervals, like Robert Whitgreve, eschaetor five times for Staffordshire.

More continuity of influence in the shires was to be found in the men who held the office of justice of the peace. These justices were appointed to the Bench because of their rank, lands, wealth or because they were the servant of a great lord, or a lawyer with knowledge of local affairs. The number on the Bench varied according to the size of the county, but fifteen is a good average for the mid-fifteenth century. A few justices on each commission were nominated "of the quorum". These were almost always lawyers. John Elinbridge in Surrey

1. E.F. Jacob, The Fifteenth Century (Oxford 1961), p. 448.

was a justice of the peace and of the quorum from January 1457 to January 1459, Robert Fenne of Rutland, of the quorum there from November 1448 until November 1470, William Cumberford of the quorum in Staffordshire from 1442 to 1471. John Harper, a justice of the peace in Staffordshire from 1430 until his death, was apparently Chairman of the Bench there from 1447 until 1464, as his name heads every list of commissioners. Judges on circuit and special commissions of gaol delivery or oyer and terminer were the justices' superior counterpart, composed mainly of lawyers but with occasional lay members. In addition, there were a number of special commissions set up in the shires, to raise loans, to hold special inquiries or commissions of array. Commissioners of array were chosen only from those known to be loyal to the government and influential in the shires.

Stafford himself served as commissioner of the peace in as many as fifteen or sixteen counties, mostly those in which he held lands, but also in others such as Dorset and Lincolnshire. A large number of his counsellors served beside him on such commissions. In Staffordshire itself, Hugh Erdeswick was a commissioner early in his career, with Richard Vernon as justice of the peace from 1417-22 and 1430-32. William Vernon was a justice in Staffordshire from 1449, and in Derbyshire between 1450 and 1455. John Harper was appointed a justice of the peace in 1430 and, as has been mentioned, became Chairman of the Bench in 1447. In February 1439 John Hampton, Thomas Arblaster and Robert Whitgreve were added to the Bench in Staffordshire, the first two remaining there until March 1460 and Whitgreve until his death in 1452. Roger Draycote was on the Staffordshire Bench from December 1453 until March 1460. After the accession of Edward IV, the lay members of the Bench who had supported the Lancastrian cause were removed from the Bench in Staffordshire, but lawyers like Harper, Cumberford and

Thomas Littleton remained. In other counties, John Curzon was a justice in Derbyshire from 1437 until his death in 1460, John Gresley was on the Bench there from 1453 until he was removed in 1458 by the Lancastrians, although he was later appointed commissioner of array in December 1459. The government's trust in him was ^{mis}replaced; he joined the Yorkists in 1460. In Shropshire, William Burley was a justice of the peace from 1439 to 1453, John Burgh from 1449 until September 1460, William Mitton from 1453 until July 1460 when he was removed by the Yorkists. In Herefordshire, John Abrahale served from March 1437 until his death in 1443, John Scudamore from 1424 until 1433, Thomas FitzHarry from 1443 to 1461. William Heaton was a justice in Leicestershire from 1427-1457, Thomas Uvedale a justice in Hampshire from July 1441 until December 1470, John Heaton a justice in Buckinghamshire from October 1456 until July 1469. In Kent, Stafford managed to get both William Hexstall and Richard Brown, his officials transplanted from their homes in Staffordshire, on to the Bench in the 1450s, Hexstall from November 1455 until December 1458 and Brown, a lawyer, from December 1447 until December 1458.

Most counsellors who were justices of the peace served on the various commissions in their counties, Thomas Uvedale of Hampshire becoming "almost common form" on commissions between 1441 and 1476, serving on a total of fifty-six, both Lancastrian and Yorkist.¹ The Staffordshire retainers were, as always, well in evidence on Staffordshire commissions. In Kent, Hexstall and Brown served on commissions from 1450 onwards and in Dover Stafford's receiver, Thomas Hexstall, served on commissions from 1457, usually under Stafford in his capacity as Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover. In Gloucestershire,

1. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 900.

Thomas Mille served on all commissions from 1440, although he was never a justice of the peace. Many Stafford counsellors, as might be expected, served on the Lancastrian commissions of array of December 1459 and early 1460 — in Surrey, John Gain[s]ford; in Berkshire, Thomas de la Mare; in Rutland Robert Fenne, in Dorset John Stourton, in Shropshire John Burgh and William Mitton, in Kent Thomas Kyriell and in Dover William Hexstall and Richard Brown. William Vernon, John Gresley and John Curzon were all on the commission of array in Derbyshire, Clement Spice and a member of the Household, John FitzSimond, served in Essex; in Hampshire Thomas Uvedale, in Cambridgeshire Thomas Finderne, in Northamptonshire Edmund Grey and Thomas Tresham, and in Staffordshire Thomas Arblaster, Roger Draycote, John Harper, John Hampton and Stafford's son, Sir Henry Stafford. This was by no means yet the complete list. In Herefordshire there were John Scudamore and Thomas FitzHarry, in Cornwall John Arundel and John Trevelyan, in Leicestershire Richard Hotoft and Robert Staunton, in Gloucestershire Thomas Mille, and in Warwickshire Sir Henry Stafford. In many counties the commission was headed by Stafford himself.¹

As can be seen from the dates of service as justices of the peace and as commissioners, the careers of many of Stafford's counsellors would appear to have continued virtually without change after the Lancastrian defeat at Northampton and the accession of Edward IV. Most accepted the new order and some, the Hexstalls to take one example, continued to prosper in public service. Some retained their positions on the estates granted to Anne, duchess of Buckingham. John Heaton remained Receiver-General for another seven years at least; Thomas Rogers continued to audit the accounts until 1463, although William

1. Cal. Pat. Rolls 1452-61, pp. 557-60.

Weldon's name disappears from the Stafford accounts. He remained a royal auditor until 1465, however. Edward Ashton, sometime steward of Callington in Cornwall, son of the judge Nicholas Ashton, was only thirty years old in 1460, and his career only really begins in 1460 when he was appointed recorder of Launceston. Other officials retained positions on the Stafford estates which came into the hands of Edward IV. Thomas Vaughn, former receiver in Brecon, continued as receiver there and in the lordships of Hay, Huntingdon and Talgarth during the minority of Stafford's heir. John Harper, who had been associated with Stafford as official and retainer for some thirty or more years, obviously accepted and made the best of the Yorkist succession. He was appointed a royal auditor in Brecon in 1462, and died in 1464.

A number of Stafford's older estate officials were dead, or died about the time of the battle of Northampton, or were old enough not to wish their last years to be disturbed by continuing to refuse to accept a fait accompli. His stewards, William Burley of Cause, John Godmaston of Essex and John Gain[s]ford of Surrey, all died between 1458 and 1460. Nicholas Poyntz, Thomas Mille and John Andreux, all of the Gloucestershire receivership, died within six months of Stafford's own death, as did William Kemeys of Newport. Richard Brown of Kent was pardoned by the Yorkists in August 1461, and died very soon afterwards. John Curzon of Kedleston died in 1460, possibly at Northampton.

There were, however, a few of Stafford's counsellors who continued loyal to the Lancastrian cause and made a stand against Edward IV. Roger Draycote was replaced as receiver in Staffordshire by Anne, duchess of Buckingham, although the reason is unknown. He may have left voluntarily after the defeat at Northampton, or his loyalty to the new order may have been in question. In 1470 he went over to Warwick in his attempt to restore Henry VI. The attempt eventually failed, and

in 1471 Draycote was a proscribed rebel. The date of his death is unknown, but his son evidently made his peace with Edward IV and by 1480 had succeeded to the Draycote estates. James Norris, esquire, of Staffordshire, a member of the Household in 1457-58, member for Newcastle in 1467-68, was also with Draycote and proclaimed a traitor in March 1470. A man of the same name was further excepted from the general pardon of 1475.¹ Thomas Mille and his son William, of Harescombe in Gloucestershire, were both attainted for their adherence to Henry VI's cause, and William died at Towton in March 1461.² The date of Thomas's death is unknown. It was certainly at about this time, but may have been due to natural causes. Sir John Scudamore of Herefordshire was a staunch Lancastrian and was excepted from the general pardon offered by Edward IV in Wales in 1461. In some reports, Scudamore is said to have been executed by the Yorkists after the battle of Mortimer's Cross in February 1461, but as he was mentioned in the August 1461 pardon, it is possible that he escaped although he did die at about this time.³ Thomas FitzHarry was also at Mortimer's Cross and his arrest was ordered by the Yorkists. In March 1461 he was specially excepted from Edward's proclamation of pardon, and £100 reward put on his head. FitzHarry survived until the Readeption, when he was restored to the Bench and put on commissions. He seems to have survived the battle of Tewkesbury also, for in August 1471 he was again excepted from the general pardon in South Wales.⁴ As a final example, we may take Sir Thomas Finderne, a Stafford retainer from Cambridgeshire, who

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1. SRO D641/1/2/23m6; Wedgwood, "Parliamentary history of Staffordshire," p. 252.
 2. Wedgwood, Biographies, p. 595.
 3. Ibid., pp. 753-4.
 4. Ibid., pp. 331-2.

fought at Wakefield on the Lancastrian side, probably at Towton also, and was attainted in 1461. He escaped to Scotland with Queen Margaret, and thence to France. In November 1462 he returned with her troops to capture Alnwick, where they were besieged and surrendered, although by the terms of the surrender Finnerne was again able to rejoin the queen in France. He returned again in May 1464, was captured at Hexham and beheaded a few days later at Newcastle.¹ Several of Stafford's counsellors hung on until 1483 when they joined his grandson, Henry, duke of Buckingham, in his rising against Richard III,² but it may be said that, in general, Stafford's counsellors, having served him well and grown old in his service, accepted the events of 1460 and turned their attention to the service of his widow, to his sons and to their own affairs and work in the counties or in Parliament.

CONCLUSION

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From the estate accounts which survive it is possible to build up a fairly detailed picture of the estate administrative structure from the lowest level, the manor, to the receivership and Receiver-General's office, and to trace their interdependence and place in the style of life of a fifteenth-century magnate. It is possible to build up a picture of the work of administration at the levels both of collection of revenue and general maintenance of the estates, and of the dissemination and maintenance of a lord's influence and prestige through his local officials and the estate network, with the corollary that the position of a lord depended basically on the lands he held, where they were and the trouble he took to attract and maintain the influential men of the area in his retinue.

There is no doubt that Stafford had a highly developed and, for the most part, efficient administrative machine staffed by trusted and competent men, many of whom had a long tradition of service to his family, had strong local ties and a high standing in the community. Nor is there doubt that these men were able to work on their own with a minimum of supervision, and to use their own initiative in developing the machinery of administration to their best professional convenience. This is seen most strongly in the declared accounts. These are not stylized documents like the full receiver's accounts which follow the same general pattern on Stafford's estates as on the estates of any magnate or lord of his time, and which, because of the numbers in which they survive and the work that has been done on them, are fairly easy to use today to see how medieval accounting worked. The Stafford

estate officials produced two new types of estate record, an English form and a Latin form, in the declared accounts, which have not been found for other contemporary estate administrations. They were obviously developed by the estate officials for their own use, as a practical working record, but because few of them survive and because they do not all follow a set pattern it is difficult with them to work out exactly what their use was and what ideas and needs lay behind their format. However, their existence, and the fact that some are in English, indicate that the Stafford estate officials were trying to move away, for practical purposes, from the long, stylized, cumbersome Latin account rolls, although these were, of course, still produced as annual records of the estate finances.

It is difficult to discover whether Stafford himself took any real interest in such matters of estate management as the development of the declared account. It is difficult in fact to avoid the conclusion that he lacked either inclination or time to take any real interest in the estates. He rarely features on the accounts, either as visiting his manors or taking decisions affecting the running of the estates and still less in making suggestions for improvements. The length of time it took him to settle the matter concerning William Kemeys' claim for portage of money expenses, nearly ten years, suggests that he did not give much time to the estates. Two qualifications may perhaps be made here, however. There is an indication on several accounts towards the late 1450s that there was a general tightening up on the subject of arrears. Closer attention is paid on the accounts of who had owed what for how long, why the money was in arrears and whether it was possible to collect it or whether the money was in respite. That the problem of arrears was occupying greater attention at this time is not really surprising. Not enough work has been done on the economic aspects of

the accounts to show whether the revenue from the estates was declining at any perceptible level apart from the problem of collecting the fines of the Great Sessions in the Welsh Marches in the early 1450s. This, however, in conjunction with the non-payment by the royal officials of his fee-farms of Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Herefordshire and Northamptonshire, and of the greater part of his salary as Constable of Dover Castle, unpaid because of the financial difficulties of the king, Henry VI, meant that Stafford himself was feeling some degree of strain in the 1450s, and it is not surprising that greater interest was being taken in arrears from his estates. The only indication that he was concerned to develop his estates probably stems from the same cause. In 1459, he leased all the mining rights in his lordship of Newport to Master Adrian Sprinker, reserving to himself one tenth of all that was found there. It is likely that his need for money, rather than a simple desire to develop Newport as a mining centre, inspired this interest in prospecting; there is no interest in more mundane efforts to develop the estates by clearing waste-land, for example.

The evidence of the accounts thus suggests that the estates were managed adequately and conservatively by the estate officials, with very few changes and innovations and with little stimulus from Stafford himself. Most matters at manorial level, like new appointments, new leases to farms and all routine administration were probably instigated and watched over by the higher officials, the receiver, steward and auditor and Stafford himself, because of his other commitments, was hardly expected to give time to the multifarious details of such routine work. At the receivership level, he appointed the officials and filled such sinecures as the offices of parker, warrener and constable of a castle, but again, took little interest in the details of the work, preferring to leave them with a certain amount of independence and

responsibility within the framework of the administration.

Little light is thrown on Stafford's own activities or the part played by him in contemporary events by the accounts. From them, however, it is possible to confirm that he was not an active, harsh, extortionate or hated landlord, anxious to increase his wealth and position by the acquisition of more estates, or by wringing money from his tenants or, as far as we can tell, by increasing his influence to any great extent by spending a large part of his revenues on more and more retainers to increase his position in central or local politics. From a study of his men and their work, it is possible to draw several conclusions concerning Stafford's retinue and its contribution to his position and influence as a great lord.

First of all, is the fact that the solid core of his retinue lay in the higher estate officials, the receivers, stewards and auditors. Many of these men were professional administrators and lawyers, good at their work, with local ties and an established place in local politics. Where these men had been in the service of the family for several generations, they had risen, because of that service, to positions of importance on a local level and, less commonly, a national level. Where new men were recruited, for example as stewards, Stafford usually chose men who were already prominent in local affairs. Many of the men had great ability, notably the Welsh Morgan ap Jankin Philip and Henry ap Griffith who were able to overcome the disadvantage of their nationality to attain the highest offices and extremely wide powers in the lordships of Newport and Brecon. Because of the proportion of professional men, it is hardly surprising that Stafford did not have sole call on their talents; many were often in the service of other lords. It is not known how this affected them in relation to Stafford, or the amount of time and attention they were able to give to

him and his affairs.

The estate officials shade almost imperceptibly from those who were purely estate officials, like Humfrey Cotes, to those who also drew retaining fees, like Nicholas Poyntz and Thomas Mille. It is often difficult to distinguish a man in his capacity as estate official or indentured retainer and annuitant, especially as, in order to forge stronger links with them, Stafford often granted retainers sinecure offices or appointed them to the working office of steward. At the other end of the scale there were the annuitants pure and simple, who rarely feature on the account apart from collecting their fees each year. It was the estate officials who held the retinue together by paying the fees, transmitting Stafford's letters and orders to the retinue of the shires and, on occasion, mustering the retinue and garrisoning castles for him.

The ties with Stafford, through family tradition, office and annuity, were usually strong. Also strong were the ties of birth, rank, interest, friendship and intermarriage between estate officials and annuitants and these all of course worked to Stafford's advantage in establishing his influence in a county. Despite Stafford's position as a national figure and the fact that the centres of the Household shifted to Maxstoke and Writtle and London, the heartlands of Stafford influence still remained very much in the West Midland counties round Staffordshire where the family had been established for centuries. These were the recruiting ground of many officials and annuitants and here the ties with Stafford and with each other were strongest. Staffordshire was the most strongly pro-Lancastrian county in the 1450s and 1460s even after Stafford's death. In contrast stands Kent, where Stafford, although possessing large estates, had few ties, connections or interests, where he failed to develop his influence and where

he made the mistake of introducing officials from Staffordshire to run his estates. In 1460, the men of Kent went over to the Yorkists.

Besides the estate officials and retainers, there are traces of an outer circle of "well-willers", men who acted occasionally for Stafford but who were not retained by him. These include men of the rank of Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Lord Audley and Stafford's half-brother, Lord Fitzwarine, as well as men at a more local level like John Poyntz of Gloucestershire and John Swynnerton and Walter Wrottesley of Staffordshire. The influence and importance of such men for Stafford are difficult to gauge; they obviously hold a much lesser place than his officials or his annuitants, but such ties of friendship and cooperation are often not negligible.

Efforts to trace positive steps by Stafford to increase the size of his retinue or its influence have little validity. At no time is it possible, from the accounts, to see Stafford recruiting large numbers of annuitants, either in times of peace or periods of crisis. The years in which most new men became members of his retinue were the early 1440s, which were in fact years of peace at home, and it would seem that towards the late 1450s the numbers of annuitants on the accounts actually decreased.

It is difficult also to see that Stafford was pushing for influence in the Commons through his retainers. Some probably did find seats through his patronage, and it is probably no coincidence that Stafford borough throughout the first half of the fifteenth century was represented almost exclusively by members of families retained by Stafford; but the numbers for whom he did find seats in any one parliament seem to be negligible, and members for boroughs were the least important element in any parliament. This is not to deny that a large number of men whose connection with Stafford can be traced did

sit in Parliament, but it must be remembered that the class from which they were recruited and ^{that} from which members of Parliament were recruited were almost identical, and that a large number of these men would expect to serve in at least one parliament in their career, as of tradition and right. Where men who were retained did sit in Parliament, there were no shackles on their independence of action, as the careers of William Tresham and Thomas Young, both pro-Yorkist, show. Many trusted officials never sat in Parliament at all. Again, it would seem that Stafford often retained and recruited men who were already well-established as members of Parliament, and hence influential in their neighbourhoods, rather than making their careers his responsibility, and that otherwise he probably did find seats for a few men in various parliaments, but in numbers too small to be of any significance.

At the local level, his influence through local figures like sheriff, eschaetor, justice of the peace and commissioners can be traced by identifying his men who held these offices, but in most places the frequency with which his men held the offices of sheriff and eschaetor is too low to suggest that gaining these offices for his supporters was a determining element in establishing his influence. The only exception is where it might be expected — the West Midland shires, where names of his men do recur among the names of sheriffs and eschaetors. It seems that annuitants filled the post of sheriff, estate officials that of eschaetor, and again he retained men who had already established themselves in these offices. A large number of his men did however act as justices of the peace or as commissioners. Again, the men who held these offices were drawn from the same class as members of Parliament and thus might expect to hold these offices anyway; but often Stafford was one of the leading members of a commission and might be expected to have a fair voice in who was to sit with him. The Staffordshire Bench

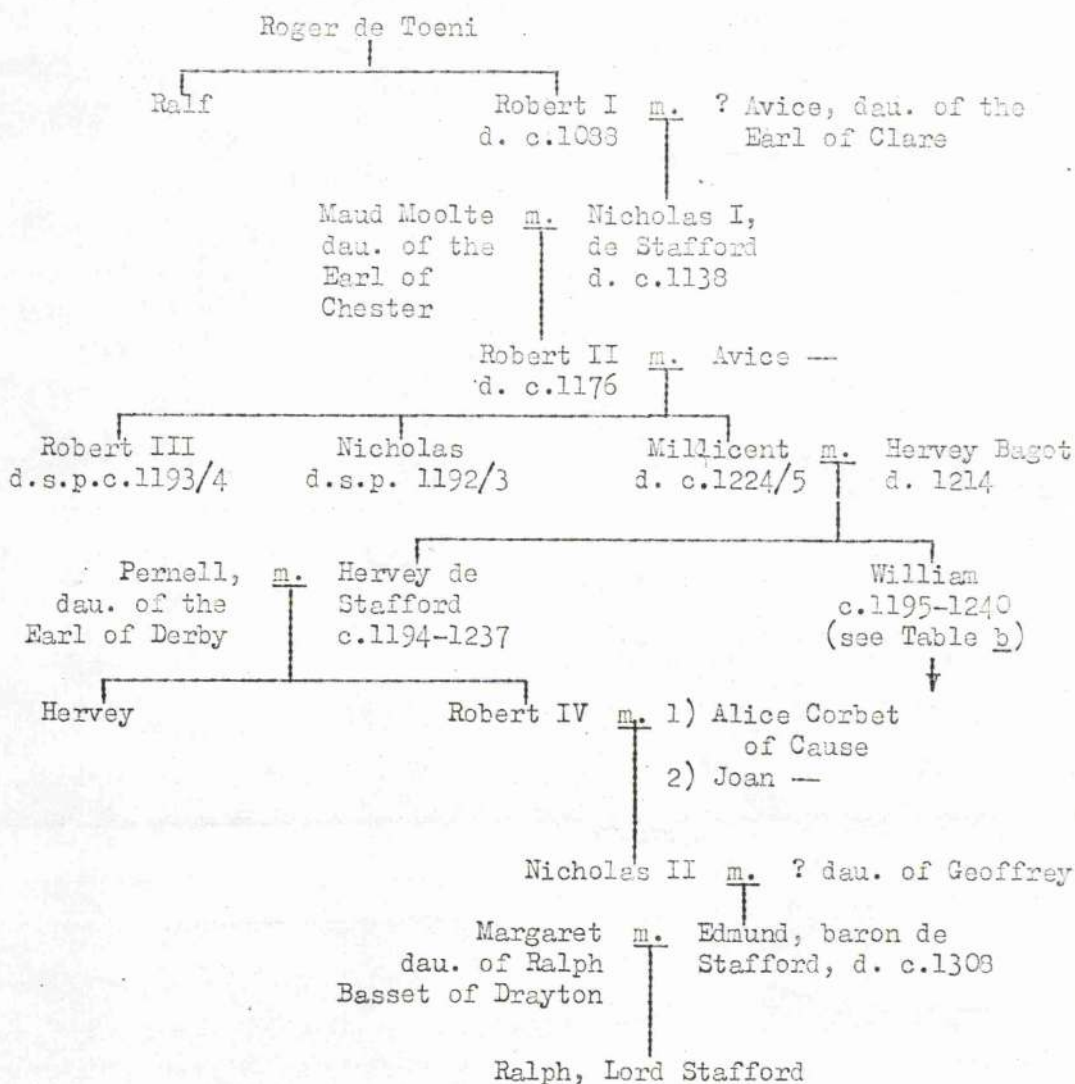
from 1439 held a solid core of his men, many of whom were removed in 1460, probably because their association with Stafford had been too close. The Hexstalls and Richard Brown, newcomers to Kent, are all found on commissions there in the 1450s, and Thomas Mille, though not a justice of the peace, served on a large number of commissions in Gloucestershire.

On balance, then, it can be said that Stafford had a large, cohesive retinue of estate officials and annuitants, and that the backbone of the retinue still lay in the West Midland shires. Many of his men were influential and successful men, but many were recruited precisely for those qualities, Stafford himself apparently doing little to obtain for them positions of power and influence in Parliament or in county politics, although he may have found it useful to serve on commissions with his own men, or to see that they were on commissions. There is, in Stafford's relationship with his retinue, nothing to go against the view that Stafford sought to maintain his position as a magnate, conscious of the need to stress his rank and position by a suitably large and influential retinue, but that he was not politically ambitious, either for himself or for his retainers, preferring to rely on families who had made their way in his family's service, or on men who had already made their own mark in Parliament or in county affairs.

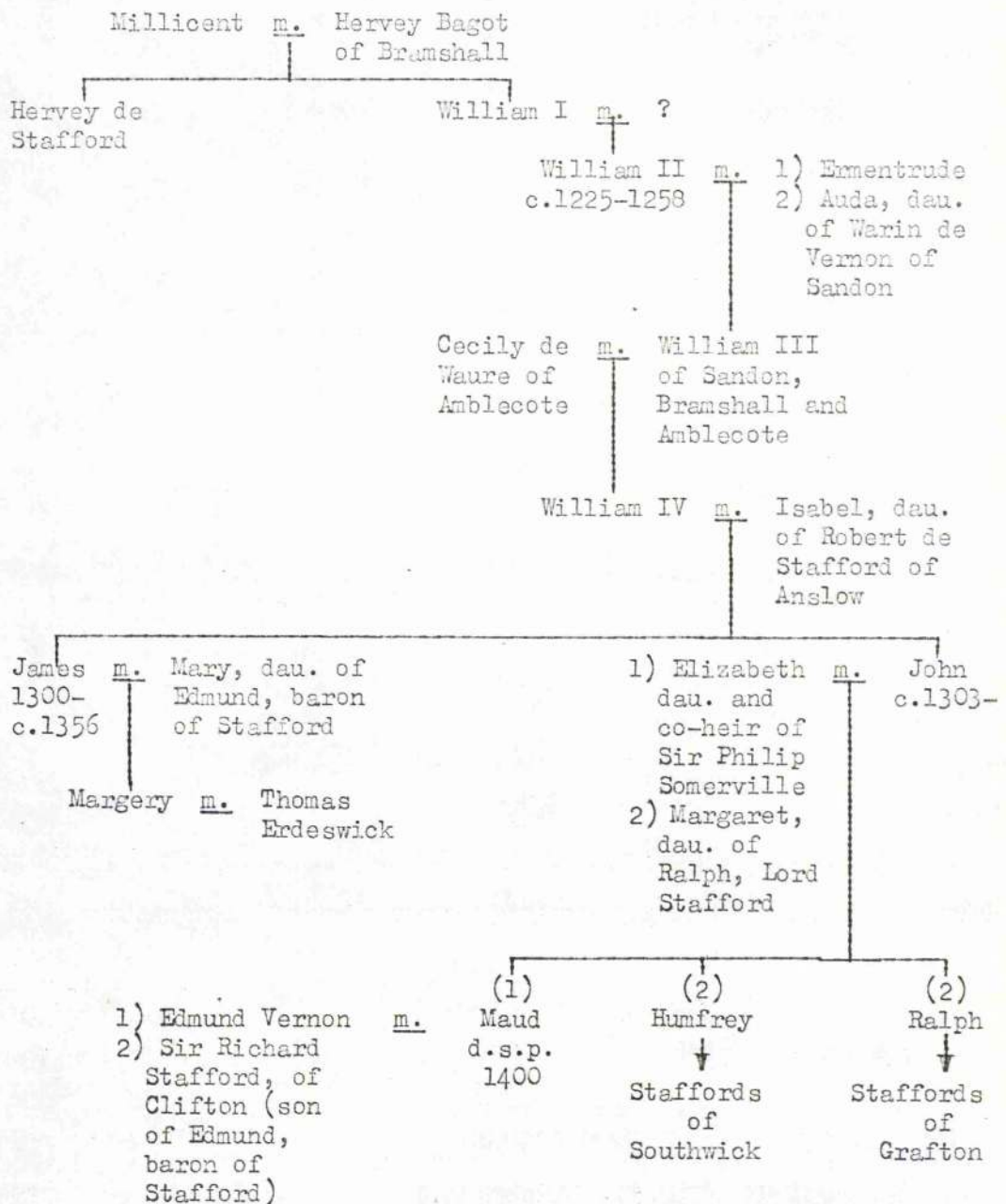
A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX I: Family Trees

(a) Toeni and Stafford in the main line to 1372

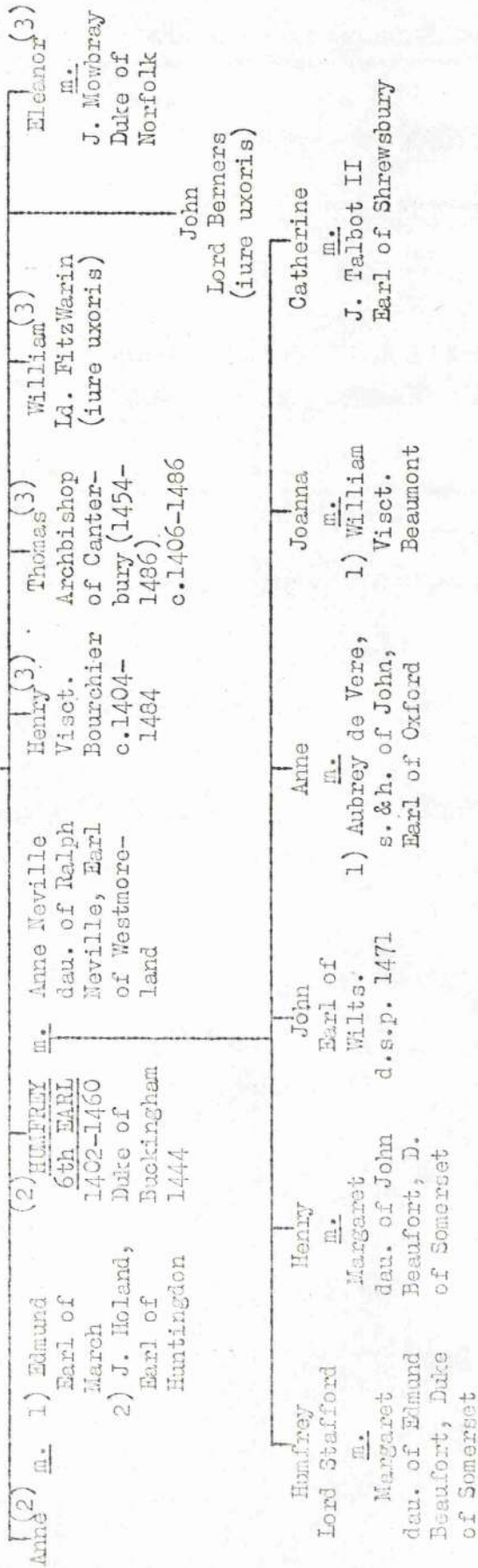
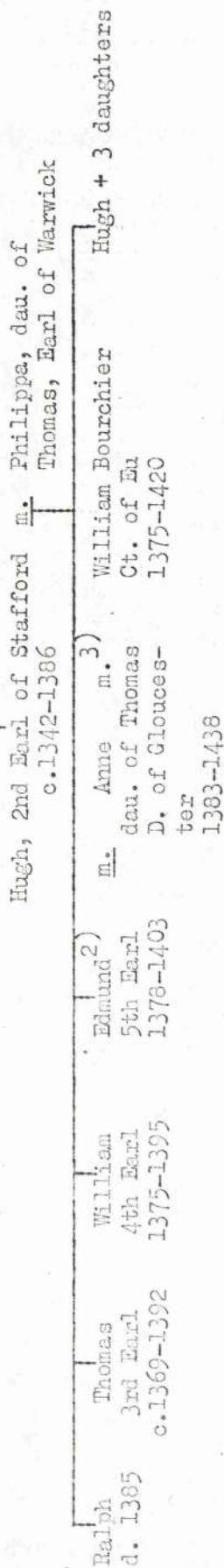


(b) Stafford in the cadet line



(c) Stafford and Bouchier

Ralph, Lord Stafford m. Margaret, dau. of Hugh d'Audley, Earl of Gloucester



APPENDIX II: Manors held by Humphrey Stafford in 1460

(Chancery Inquests post mortem 4, no. 59, pp. 290-5)

- (a) from Edmund, Earl of Stafford (d. 1403)
- (b) from Hugh Stafford, uncle (d. 1420)
- (c) from Anne, Countess of Stafford (d. 1438)
- (d) other lands

Bedfordshire

- (c) Hardwick manor ? Hurts.
- Tilbrook ma. ? Hurts

Breconshire

- (c) Brecon Castle and manor
- Hay Castle, lordship and borough
- Huntingdon Castle and lordship
- Mora and Mota ma.
- (d) Talgarth ma. (acq. 1441)
- Jonesfield ma. (" ")

Cornwall

- (a) Callington ma. ✓

Essex

- (a) Hersham manor
- Chipping Ongar ma. (to Margaret, widow of Ld. Stafford, from c.1458)
- (b) Stanford Rivers ma. ✓
- Tracies ma. ✓
- Butlers ma.
- Pigsland ma. ✓
- Briggs ma.
- (c) Kings Hatfield ma.
- Fobbing ma. ✓
- Writtle ma.
- Boyton ma.
- Bromsho ma. (I am unable to trace this)

Gloucestershire

- (a) Thornbury manor
- Rendcombe ma.
- Eastington ma.
- Alkerton ma.
- (c) Haresfield ma.
- Newingham ma.

Hampshire

- (a) Petersfield borough
Mapledurham hamlet

Huntingdonshire

- (a) Southoe manor
- (c) Kimbolton Castle, town and manor
Swineshead ma.

Kent

- (a) Tonbridge Castle, borough and manor
Hadlow ma.
Brasted ma.
Edenbridge ma.
Yalding ma.
- (d) Penshurst ma. (acq. 1447)
Bayhall ma.
Havencourt ma.

Lincolnshire

- (a) Greetwell ma.

Mormouthshire

- (a) Newport Castle and borough
Machan ma.
Rumney ma.
Pencarn ma.
Dowlais ma.
Dyffryn ma.
Stowe ma.

Northamptonshire

- (a) Rothwell manor
Glaphthorn ma.
Hackleton ma.
Peddington ma.
Deddington ma.
- (b) Navesby ma.

Nottinghamshire

- (a) Kneesall manor
- (d) Radcliffe ma. (acq. before Mic. 1438)
Colston Basset ma.

Oxfordshire

- (b) Stretton Audley manor

Rutland

- (c) Oakham Castle and manor
Eagleton ma.
Langham ma.

Shropshire

- (a) Cause Castle, borough and manor

Worthyn borough and manor
Hope ma.
Minsterley ma.
Nethergother ma.
Overgother ma.
Aston ma.

} *Welshry of Caus*

Staffordshire

- (a) Stafford Castle and manor
 - Billington ma.
 - Bradley ma.
 - Tillington ma.
 - Doddington ma.
 - Darlaston ma.
 - Stalbrook ma.
 - Packington ma.
 - Norton-in-the-Moors ma.
 - Stanton ma.
 - Madeley ma. *Ellaston manor.*
- (b) Barlaston ma.
 - Hartwell ma.
 - Tittensor ma.
- (d) Church Eaton ma. (acq. in 1448)
Blymhill ma. (acq. in 1457)

Suffolk

- (a) Desenyng manor
Haverhill ma.

Surrey

- (a) Ockham manor
 - Camberwell ma.
 - Blechingley ma.
 - Chipstead ma.
 - Tillington ma.
 - Portley ma.
 - Gatiers ma.
 - Upwood ma.
 - Hailingbury ma.
- (b) Effingham ma.
 - Waldingham ma.
 - Caterham ma.

Warwickshire

- (a) Wootton Wawen manor
 - Tysoe ma.
 - Whatcote ma.
 - Sheldon ma.
 - Welford ma.
- (b) Rugby ma.
- (d) Maxstoke Castle and ma. (acq. 1438)
Lawford ma. - acq.

Wiltshire

- (a) Knock manor

Wexcombe ma.
West Bedwind ma.
Orcheston ma.
Upelatford ma.
Burbage Savage ma.
Littleton Drewe ma.
Stanton St. Quintin ma.
Smallbrook ma.
(c) Stratton St. Margaret ma.

}
to Margaret,
widow of Lord Stafford,
from c.1458

Yorkshire

(c) Burstwick-in-Holderness manor
Preston ma.
Skipsea ma.
Lelley Dyke ma.
Barrow ma.
Paul Fleet ma.
Helpston ma.
Sproatley ma.
Burton Pudsey ma.
Easington ma.
Lamwath ma.
Tunstall ma.
Cleeton ma.
Hedon ma.
Keyingham Marsh ma.
Skeffling ma.
Kilnsea ma.
Hayingham ma.
Owthorne and Withernsea ma.
Elstronwick ma.
Skeckling ma.
Moyse ma.
Dunceley ma.)

I have been unable to identify these two place-names.

APPENDIX III: Texts of Original Sources

- (a) Copy of a letter from Humfrey Stafford to Thomas Bouchier,
Archbishop of Canterbury (undated): SRO D1721/1/1/346d.

Right

Most Reverend father in ~~god~~^{Right} worshipfull lord and with all myn harte entirely beloved brother I recommend me to you thankynge you as hartely as I can for the good lordship and brotherhod wiche I have found in you at altymes and for that hit hath lyked you to complayn my great hevynes that I have had through the visitacion of our lord god of my sonne Stafford late caulled to his great mercy whose soule hit hath plesed your good brotherhod to Remember and pray for as well in your own person and suffrages as otherwyse (and) full worshipfully for his soules health ~~For~~^{For} recommendid beseeching the blessed lord to thanke you therfore as I may. And right noble lord and brother after the death of my said sonne my other sonnes your poore kynsman and nephewes Henry and John werre in such places wheare as your good brotherhod hathe thoght that the should have bene as welcom to you as to any man the wiche I know hit for certen that the should have so ben And god knoweth my intent was that my said Henry should have wayted upon your good lordshipe untill that I was informed of your removeinge shald have bene unto the Freires of Elisford (Aylesford) for the sicknes that rainethe and that certen of your servautes should have bene visyted there withall, wherefore brother I beseeche you to take hit for no unkeyndnes for in good truthe that was the cause and non other then such as I do enform you And wheare as I have herd that now late at this rumoured of full ungodly dysposycion that was showed unto your good brotherhod by certen evyll dysposed persons hit was to my great heavynes to heare of such presumptuous dealyng towards you person as I shall oon to you hear after wiche I trust in god shall not be long unto, and for I purpose me yf I may laboure to say you in the beginning of this somer¹⁾ beseechyng you for to be to me and all myn as hit hath plesed you alwayes a good lord and a kynd brother and that hit may lyk you to signify me from tyme to tyme the certentey of your noble prosperity and welfare with such tydinges as ye have whearof to hear to wryte me your noble plesure I wille as glad as of any man liveing that knoweth our lord god.

1) Probably summer 1458. According to a letter from John Bocking to Sir John Fastolf, dated Mar. 15, 1458, Lord Stafford had been alive to take part in the "Loveday", the attempted reconciliation between the parties, in the spring of 1458 (P.L.I. p. 426).

- (b) Copy of the letter sent to Humfrey, duke of Buckyngham for the
matter of Holderness from his servants, Nicholas Poynte ⁱ⁾ and
Robert Whitgreave, ⁱⁱ⁾ at London (undated): SRO D1721/1/11/124-4

Lyke hit unto your grace to wette that sythen we wrytten last to
your lordship your matter of Holdernes hath bene full busylve
laborde as well before my lord the Chauncelor and other lordes of
the Counsall in the Checker Chaumber as before the kynges owne
person at Cheene in Surwiche, ⁱⁱⁱ⁾ and that wee were ^{iiiij^{or}} days the
last week at Cheene where your tytle and right of your ^{said} lord-
ship was reportyd before the Kyng and the lords of his counsell
by the mothe of my lord the Chauncelor, ^{iv)} my lord of Gloucester
the ^{iiiij^{or}} days beinge at which tyme is thought your ^{matter} ^{v)}
absant, and fro that tyme we were adiourned untill Tusedaye that
last was before the Kyng at the sayd place of Cheene, my lord of
Gloucester that tyme paynted withull the remnant of the lordes of
the Kyngs counsall and your matter there ^{was} reportyd by my lord
the Chauncelor in the best wyse at wiche tyme hit was well considered
and right wisely examynid and in the morowe after we had our answers
such as ben send ^{under the Kings signet with} ^{be to}
your pleasure of the which we send you ^{copy the wiche you may see}
or the kings lettres be delyverred and so with ^{call here}
your Lordship recoveryd so ye do your part at Calaye ^{the}
counsell there to whome the Kinge hath specially written in ^{sumich} so much
If ye have been here present you wold not have desyryd my lord the
Chauncellor to have said so muche and so well as he hath sayd, my
lord of Suffolk ^{hath} ^{as} your trewe cosyn, my lord of Northumberland
also and youe be specially holden to ^{thank} ^{the} lord Tipptoft and
we wold declare much more unto youe by writing save for as much as
we ^{send} ^{said} unto your servaunt Andrew Tenkyn ^{vii)} whose hath bene with us
in all our labor ^{meane} and knowyth all the circumstance thereof, the
which were to much to wryte for ther was never a such labored matter
in England afore this tyme, of which your said servaunt shall
enforme youe who took upon him at our desyre to come to you at
Calays full hartely and with a free will, of which you ought
specially to thanke him, for he must come with the report of the
Kynges lettres and labour furthir in the matter as the case requyryth,
for we trust to God withe your discreet labor, at his comyng again
he shall sue out your wrytte of liveray and if hit like to your
lordship semyth good for ^{nowe} ^{youe} to send good lettres of thanking to
my lord of Gloucester and to my lords ^{and} ^{to such as you}
seme is to do. viii)

- i) Of Irenacton, Gloucestershire, appointed Stafford's Receiver
in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Hampshire on 16 February
1439.
- ii) Of Stafford, lawyer. Retained by Stafford from 1430-52,
"being bred up in ye study of ye municipall lawes was much
employed by Humfrey, Earl of Stafford" (Wedgwood, *Biographies*,
p. 941).
- iii) Henry VI was at Sheen between July 10 and 17. Stafford was in
Calais until August 5, 1439, as an ambassador to the French.

- iv) John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells.
- v) Blank. It would seem that Stafford was on good terms with Gloucester if Gloucester was helping his case along before Henry VI.
- vi) Stafford had laid his suit before the Council in Calais dealing with royal matters, as well as before Henry himself.
- vii) I can find no other mention of this man among Stafford's retainers or elsewhere.
- viii) Livery of Holderness was granted to Stafford on 19 August 1439 while he was in England obtaining fresh instructions regarding the French truce negotiations. He returned to Calais on Sept. 9.

(c) The lease of Tillington manor, Staffordshire: SRO D641/1/2/56m4.

Firma manerij

Set oneratur ~~se~~ gratis de £17.13.4 de firma manerii de Tillyngton cum omnibus redditibus et firmis, ^{terris} pratis, pascuis et pasturis ac cum piscaria et omnibus aliis proficuis eidem manerio pertinentibus, wardis, maritagiis relevis, eschaetibus, wayfas, strayves, heriottis et perquisitibus curiarum tantummodo exceptis et domine reservatis sic dimisso Thome Wodefall alias dicto Aughton a festo Sancti Michaelis anno 30 usque ad finem terminus 20 annorum extunc proximum sequentem solvendo annuatim modo et forma subscriptis ^{videlicet} viz ad festum annunciationis beate Marie 113s.2d. et ad festum Sancti Michaelis ^{extunc proximum sequentem} £12.0.2d. Et predictus firmarius omnes domos et mansiones infra ^{videlicet} dominium predictum reparabit et manutenebit sumptis suis propriis et expensis durante termino predicto ^{videlicet} viz infra scitum manerii unam aulam, unam hayhous, unam bovariam et unum orrium de 4 bayes et in messuagio Thome Barnard unam domum mansoriam de 3 bayes, in messuagio Thome Badele unum orrium de 4 bayes, in messuagio Hugonis Roder unum ^{videlicet} juset hous de 3 bayes et unum orrium de 3 bayes et easdem domos et mansiones ad finem termini sui predicti competenter reparatas dimittet. Et bene licebit eidem firmario tenentes dictorum tenementorum distringere et districciones sic captos liciter retinere et custodire quousque predicti tenentes tenementa predicta bene et competenter reparaverunt. Et predictus firmarius omnia onera et tallagia tam domino Regi quam alio durante termino predicto solvet et supportabit proviso semper quod prefatus firmarius domino nec heredibus suis de 10 marcis redditus assise quas Johannes Savage miles quondam dominus huius domini prefato domino solvere consuevit pro dicto manerio ultra firmam suam supradictam non oneratus existat durante termino predicto. Et in casu quod dictus firmarius aliqua domos vel loca mansoria sive alia edificia edificare aut fossare vel claudere cum vivencia super aliquas parcelas terre, prati vel pasture infra manerium predictum vel parcelas eiusdem facere voluerit quod ipse per dominum nec eius officarios impeditus sive perturbatus non existat si pro commodo domini per officiares suos fieri videatur post finem termini predicti. Et bene licebit prefato firmario prosternere et loppare, pro eius focalibus et clausuris,

orle, wythe et spina, infra dictum dominum crescentes proviso semper quod dictus firmarius non faciat aliquod vastum infra dictum manerium sine licencia domini vel heredum vel officiariorum suorum nisi fuerit pro edificatis et hoc per supervisum dictorum officiariorum. Et bene licebit prefatus firmarius omnes terras arabiles infra campos dicti manerii in toto cultivare et seisonare quibus sibi videbatur fore maioris valoris et commodi durante termino predicto. Et si contingat prefatus firmarius infra dictum terminum obire tunc dominus habebit de prefato firmario herietum ad valorem 13s.4d. Et si contingat predictum redditus ad aliquem terminum prefixum in parte vel in toto ultra unam mensem aretro fore non solutum tunc bene licebit eidem domino et heredibus suis in manerio redditis, firmis, terris, pratis, pascuis et pasturis cum piscaria predictis et in omnibus aliis proficuis distringere et districciones sic captos effugare et penes se retinere quousque de redditibus predictis et arreragiis eiusdem plenare fuerit satisfactoris et persolutis. Et si contingat dictum redditus in parte vel in toto ad aliquem terminum et 2 septimanas aretro fore non solutum tunc bene licebit domino et heredibus suis in manerium, reddita, firma terra, prata, pascuas et pasturas predicta et in omnia alia proficua reditrare et illa ut in pristo statu suo retinere hac dimissione non obstante ut patet in quadam indenturam inter dominum et dictum firmarium cuius datam est 20 die Januar anno 30 Regis Henrici vj^{ti} inde confectam hoc anno termini sui secundo

(d) Lease of mines in the Ldship. of Newport in 1459 — indenture between

Humfrey of Buckingham and Master Adrian Sprinker: NLW MS Wynnstay

118, fos. 244-5.

An indenture between [my lord of Buckingham's] grace and on(e) Adrian, concernyng goulde mines, a^o 37 Regio H. 6.

This indenture made at the castle of Makesto(ke), the 27 daye of Feverer, the year of the raigne of King Henrie the VIth after the conquest the 37, betwene the highe & myghtie prince Humfrey, duke of Buck on th'on partie & M(aster) Adrian Spring' on th'oder partie, wytnesyth that the sayd duke hath grantid & let to farme unto the sayd Adryan, his assignes deaputies & servauntes, all his mynes, golde, sillv(er), coppre, leade & other mettles, whersoever they be cont(aining) in them golde or silv(er) within the lordship of Newport, Waynlock & Maghan in Wales, as hit more plainly appereth by the seyde dukes lettres patentes to the sayd Adryan therof made, with the realyent articles in thes presente indenture(s) folowinge, that is to wyt,

First, the sayd M. Adryan shall reteigne and witholde himself to be servaunt to the sayd duke for 20 wynter next folowinge after the date hereof to (occ)upie the sayd mynes within the lordshipe aforesayd & (to) be onlye his servaunte & not to be retaigned with no other nor to occupie no other mynes out of the sayd duke's lordshipes during the sayd terme without his specialle lycens in that behallfe.

Item, the seyde M. Adryan shall not let to farme the sayd mynes ne alyne his termes to no prince nor estates bering the name of a lorde within England or Wales, nor to no knight, nor esquier of no forren lordship within the groundes of Wales, except he be onely

conversant or abydinge within the sayd lordshipes.

Item, the sayd M. Adryan shall answer to the sayd duke of the 10th parte of all maner of getting of oyers wherof gold, sillv., corpre, leade or any other metles shall growe unto profit & hit is to be fynid at propre costes & charges of the said M. Adryan & his substytutes.

Item, the sayd M. Adrian byndythe himsellf & all his substytutes by thes indentures that all maner oyres by them gotten within the sayd lordship shalbe fynid nighe unto the sayd duke's castle of Newp. & ther to be weyd & the 10th parte therof to be delyvered to such of his servautes or officers as His Highnes shall like to comaunde or deaputie therinto.

Item the sayd M. Adrian is agreed for him & his substytutes that the sayd duke, if hit lyke him, shall have the unce of fynid sillv. before any other man, at suche price as they moure acord, for readie moneye to be content.

Item, the sayd M. woll & grauntyth by thes presaute indentures if hit so be that the sayd mynes by him his assignes, deaputies or servautes stand unoccipied by the space of halfe an yeaere, that then hit shall be leafull to the sayd duke & his heires the sayd mynes into their handes resume, the graunt & lease by his lettres patentes made notwithstandinge.

Item, for as muche as the sayd M. Adrian can finde unto the sayd duke none other suertie but himsellfe he hathe made his othe upon a booke to the sayd duke that he shall well, truly & faythfully kepe & observe all the covenantes & artycles aswell specified in his lettres patentes as in these presente indentures conteyned. In wytnes wherof aswell the sayd duke as the sayd M. Adryan to the same interchaungeably have put to their seales, the day & yere abovesayd.

(e) Will of Humfrey, Duke of Buckingham: PCC Stokton 21

In the name of God Almighty, fader & sonne & holi gost, thre personnes & oone God by whome alle the mite reyneth & princes have dominacion, I, Humfrey, D. of. B. knowing my selfe to be mortalle rememb[er] also & I only having in mynde the uncertente of this transitorye life & that deth is certeyn to me & alle mankynde and the hour of it is moost uncertayne, willing therefore to provide & dispose for the helth of my sowle the payement & contentement of my dettes, restituccion or satisfaccione of wronges by me doone in my dayes and rewaydes of my servautes lest that dethe comyng sodenly as a thefe finde me sleping, order me make & declare my will of my moveable goodes by me put in feoffement in maner & forme as foloweth:-

First, I will that my funerelle expenste beene doone by the good discrecion and advise of myne executoris witheoute any sumptuos coostes or charges to be doone to my corruptible body for my woordly pompe.

Item. I wille that the day of myne obite & funeralle be distribute amonge prestes & clerke thenne being present & power people to pray for my sowle 200 marks in money over & besidis the costis & mete & drinke, wax, the aray that shalbe aboute my body, the clothing of my servautes, clothing & reward of pouer men bering or holding wax the said day of myne obite and if any parcelle of the said somme of 200 marks remayne undistribute the said day of myne obite I wol that it be distribute amongs suche pouer people os most nede have by

thadvise of myne said executoris within viij dayes next aftre my said obite.

Item. I wol that the costes to be doone for & aboute my said funeralle be doone & borne of my hoole goodes being myne at the tyme of my dyinge & my bequestes that shulde appere in my testament & that alle my goodes remaynyng over the said costes of my funeralle & over my bequestes as wele the array & ornamente of my wife as other be departid in thre parties aftre a due apprasynge & that my said wife have the iij part of the said goodes so remayning & that the ij parties of theyme be applied & emploied to the payment of my dettes.

Item. I wol if I in my dayes have mystakyne any mannes landes or goodes ayenst reason & coustume noone restitution ne satisfaccion there of made in my life & that sufficently proved by fore myne executoris, that due restitution & satisfaccione be there of made by the said myne executoris.

Item. I will that my dettes be paid principally & first to the moost nedy persone or persones & thenne to other to whiche my money shall be due by me, the tyme of my dyinge for vitaille expendid in my houshold to whome noone entierdute excidethe the somme of 10 marks and the salaries & wages of my servauntes that shalbe due unto theyme the tyme of my dyinge thise paymente to be made withoute any defatacion.

Item. that where there be annuity by me to John vicecounte Beumont, the somme of £442.13.2 $\frac{1}{2}$ [ccccxliij li. xiiij s. ij d. ob] in asmuche as the daies of payment thereof beene passid, I wille that certayne acquietaunces made & deliveryd to me by the said vicecount of suche sommes of money as beene paied and content unto him afore tyme that alle suche as shalbe due by me to the said vicecount at the tyme of my dyinge be trewly content & paied.

Item. where I owe to John Erle of Shrewesbury a £1000 to be paied at dayes yet for to come I wolle that all that shalbe due thereof at the tyme of my dyinge be trewly content & satisfied.

Item. I wille that alle my dettes whiche shalbe evydently proved by fore myne executoris to be due by me the said tyme of my dying be content & satisfied insuche fourme as shalbe resonable & constantly agreed by theme my said executoris & the creditores to whome suche dettes shalbe founden due.

Item. as for rewardes of my servauntes I wolle that suche my servauntes as have and shalle do me goode & agreeable service not preferrid by me nec by my ministres to benefice or office nor otherwise rewarded in my life be rewardid in suche fourme as I shalle in tyme to come allowe.

Item. I wolle that Priour and covent of Maxstoke have in fore my decisse a £100 in money for to purchase within a 100s worth of land & if it be not doone in my life that the same priour & covent augment therefore the same covent by oone chanon in perpetuite so that there be at all tymes 14 chanons, the priour for the tyme being acceptid of whiche chanones, oone chanon shalle chaunte dayly & pray for my sowle and for the soules of my aunesestres, of my wife & of my children at the altar in the northe crosse ile of the conventuelle chirche of Maxstoke abovesaid.

Item. I wolle that my wife aftre my decesse have the secunde parte of all my londes & tenements by me put in feoffement to persone by wille to hold to hir time of hir lief in nome of her dower of the same except suche as hir shalbe ordeyned & appoynted to be sold and that the issues & profittes commynge of the two parties remaynyng of the said landes & tenements be reserved by officers to be appoynted by my said executoris & paid to the said executores they to paie my

dettis & performe this my wille.

Item. I will that all my stuf & store being in & upon the manor of Bristwike & lordship of Holderness with alle thappointemence abide & remayne in & upon the same for the encreas of the profittes thereof unto the tyme my wille of the saide manor & lordship here declared & be performed & thenne the same stuf & store be sold by my said executoris & the money thereof commyng be dis[] by there advice for my soule helthe.

Item. if it happen my feoffes in any of the manors, landes & tenementes by me put in feoffment to dyne byfore my will performed to the noubre of 3 persones so that thene remayne oone life of theme but only 3, thanne I wille that the 3 beinge on life make a state of the same manors, landis & tenementes that they beene infeoffid in to over 10 persons to the noubre of 12 to perfourme my said wille of the whiche summe be of my blod not inheritable to the same the remenant to be named by my said executoris suche as my said executores wol take oppone thayme shal not contrary my wille ne put the executores thereof in delay.

Item. I wolle that my college of Pley in the shire of Essex of the firmacione of Sir Thomas of Woodstok late Duc of Glouc. myne ayelle, be augmented by 3 prestes perpetually & there be 7 power men to pray daily for my sowle & for the sowles of myne auncestres & of my wife & our children.

Item. I wille that be purchased & lawfully amortaysed to the said college by myne executores if it be not doone in my life for the augmentacion & sustenance of the marster & his brethren of the said college & of the said 3 prestes & power menne, londes, tenementes & rentes of the yerely value of on 100 marks whereof I wolle that everyche of the 7 pouer menne have every weke 12d. for his sustenance & find him silf except housyng whiche I wolle be bilded there for thame by thadvice of myne executoris.

Item. I wolle that there be bilded in the Northside of the Chirche of the same college a chapell to be halowed in the worship of the Trinite & of our Lady & that there be daily founde & said in the same chapelle afore that it be made a halowed a masse of our Lady & that the 7 pouer men be daily at every masse in the same college but if they lettid by sickines? & pray for my sowle & for the sowles above-said & that myne executoris after my decisse durynge there lives & after theyme the mauster of the said college for the tyme being have auctorite & power to put in & [] by there distraccione the said power menne after there merytes & demerytes.

Item. I wille that my wife have the use of the staff of my chapelle durynge her life & that there be thereof competent stuf provided for the said college to be had aftre the deth of my said wife the remenaunt thereof to be disposid for the performyng of my will.

Item. I will that my sonne Henry have aftre my decesse of reversione by me purchasid & of my landes by me put in feoffment to the value of 400 marks by the yere whereof 300 marks by yere to him & to my doughter Margaret Countesse of Rychemond his wife & the herres of thame two bodies commyng the remaynder thereof for the defaute of issue of the said Henry begoten to my right herres for ever & the residue of the said CCCC m. worth of land to the said Henry for terme of his life so that if it happen that said Henry to have by his said wife issue beyng on life the tyme of his dyinge & herre apparant to the said Margaret thenne the said residue aftre the decesse of the saide Henry to remayne to theire right herres & if the said Henry have noone suche issue live the tyme of his dying beinge herre to the said Margaret, thenne the said residue to remayne to the herres of the body of the said Henry begoten, the remaynder thereof for the

faute of suche herres to my right herres.

Item. I wol that alle my londes & tenementes with the appointe-
naunce in Macclefeld, Hundefeld & Sutton & the reversion of
Cristulton /Christleton/ with thappoitement in the counte of Chestre
& of alle my landes & tenements which were to Hugh Browne, Kt., an
Chirche Cristalton, Rowe, Cristalton Moche Coton Littilton, Rowton,
Hoole in the same shire & the manor of Litull Perendon /Church
Christleton, Rowe, Christleton, Much Coton, Littleton, Rowton, Hoole/
in the Counte of Essex & alle my landes & tenementes in Aston in
Shroppeshire & the manor & lordship of Talgarth in the March of Walys
to be sold by my feoffees of the same by thadvice of myne executoris
& by them applied & employed to the performing of this my wille
towching my said college & if it wilnot suffise thereto, thenne the
remanaunt of money ne defulte for the performing of this my will
towching my said college be taken & parayned of the issues & profittes
havige of the 2 parties of my said landes & tenementes by me put in
feoffement.

And to this my last & de[] able wil trewly to be executid
I ordeyne & make myne executoris my wife as chief executrice & my
brother of Caunterbury.

In witnesse whereof to this p[]
givene at my castell of Maxstok the 16 day of August in the
yere of our Lord God mcccclix /1459/.

Probatum fuit superscriptum testamentum coram domino apud
Lamehithe secundo die mense de Dec. anno domini mcccclx ac appro-
batum & in [] etc. Et comitissa fuit administracio
omnium & singulorum bonorum etc. Anna relicta & executrice in dicto
testimonio nominatum de bene & fideliter [] bona [] ac
de pleno & fidelio inventorio etc & domino citra feotum P[] asque
proximo etc necnon de fideli compoto calculo etc. iuratur reserva-
tur prefato domino etc.

(f) Declared Account (Group I): SRO D641/1/2/19m4

Stafford.

The declaracion of thacompt of Humfrey Cotes, Receyvour there in
the yere endyng at Michelmes the 27 yere of Kyng Henry the Sexte. VIth

Sum total of yacompt of the seide Receyvour aswell of tharreriages
(£97.2.9³/₄) of his laste accompt as of yissues of this yere (£246.
12¹/₄d) : £343.3.9³/₄.

Wherof is paid in fees and wages and annuitees graunted to diverse
persones as it appereth by thacompt: £91.3.4

And in money paid for medowes bought with the costes of ye making
and cariage of hey to the Castell for my lordes horses as it
appereth £7.19.5 by the
said account

And in money paid for lyter and otes bought for the seid horses
£9.19.10

Also paid for shoue removynge with other diverse medicyns and
necessaries bought and done to the seid horses as it appereth 24s.1d by the said account

And in wages of diverse yomen and gromes beyng yere for the keyng
and drawng of the seid horses withe the salarie of William Hillary
as it appereth £6.4.4 by the said account

And in divers foreyn expenses and costes done there this yere as it appereth 3ls.

And in money delyvered to the handes of Syre Willyam Ore upon divers payments by him to be made to divers werkemen in my lordes werkes upon the Chircho of Stafforde by bille endented £37.6.8

And in money respited for divers payementys and foreyn expenses by hym done ~~his~~ yere not allowed for defaute of a warrant £13.16.10

And in money respited of the rent of Dunston (7s.1½) and Bradeley (2s.10d) for this yere 9s.11½.

And in money sett upon Roger Aston for a tenement in Lichfeld 20s.

And in money set upon my lorde of Warrewick for divers tenements in Walshale as it appereth £4.10.8

Sum of all ⁴/₃allowaunce abovesaid is £175.6.1½,

And so the seid Receyvour oweth £167.17.7¾

Whereof is to be abated by a warrant of his surplusage of his last accompt of ye household £47.

And so the seid receyvour oweth £120.17.7¾

unde in manibus ministrorum et debitorum per estimacionem ¹⁵ £40.

Declared account (Group II): SRO D641/1/2/19m5

Holdernesse.

Declaracio compoti Ricardi Iascy clerici, Receptoris prepotentis principis Humfridis ducis Buk dominii sui ibidem de uno anno integro terminante ad festum Sancti Michelis anno r. r. Henrici Viti post conquestum 27 ut infra.

Summa totalis rentale compoti predicti cum £478.14.3½ de arrerragiis compoti sui anni proximi precedentis sicut continentur in compoto supradicto £1219.18.6½

Feoda et vadia officiariorum cum expensis eorundem.

Idem computat in feodo Receptoris (100s) cum expensis servientis eiusdem (32s) hoc anno ut patet per compotum £6.12s.

Et in feodo Johannis Constable, militis, Senescallis domini predicti hoc anno £20

Thome Rogers, Auditoris compotorum ^{ministrorum} ibidem hoc anno 53s.4d.

Expensis eiusdem simul cum expensis Receptoris, subsenescallis et aliorum ministrorum usque Brustwyk pro compotis huius anni coram Auditore reddendis ut patet etc. £6. 7s.8½

Clerici curie (13s.4d) et pergameno empto pro rotulis 2ls.4d.

Regardo clerici scribentis compota ministrorum (13s.4d) et pergameno empto pro compotis Receptoris et ministrorum et pro valoribus huius anni superscribendis 18s.4d.

Roberto Danby servienti ad legem hoc anno 40s.

Vadiis Johannis Newton custodis manerii de Brustwyk et parcarii parci australis ibidem £4.11.3

Vadiis Petri Grymston, parcarii parci borialis 40s.8d.

Annuitates.

Johannis Constable armigeris hoc anno £10

Thome Berston 66s.8d.

Edwardi Colson capellani divina celebrantis in capella maneri de Brustwyk £4

Expense forinsece.

Vadiis Johannis Lucas ibidem existentis pro iuventis domini
seisonandis et cum 33s.4d. liberatis eidem pro expensis suis ducentis
duos cursarios et 18 pullos domini de ibidem usque Stafford per
litteras domini 49s.8
Pane et cervisia emptis et datis diversis tenentibus dictos pullos
appreciantibus 8d.
In riguardo Johanni Parcone attornato in communi banco ex ordinatione
Senescallis et receptoris 2s.

Reparaciones.

Custu veterum walle Humbre apud Litilhumbre 23s.
Custu fossatorum apud Litilhumbre 32s.6
Custu construccionis unam domus infra manerium de Brustwick cum
reparacionibus aliarum domorum eiusdem manerii £9.2.0½
Custu reparacionis pontem apud Lamwathe hoc anno 20s.7d
Custu performacionis Gote apud Pauleaflete hoc anno 24s.11½
Summa £74.6.8½d.

Custus et expense domini Humfrid de Stafford filii domini

Et in denariis liberatis ad manus Walteris Percyvale ad usum domini
Humfridi de Stafford filii domini tam per litteras domini quam per
unam billam indentatam dicti Walteris £13. 6. 8
Et in expensis predicti domini Humfridi et familie sue necnon
diversorum generosorum et valetorum domini predicti secum existen-
tium per duos dies apud Brustwick post tempus compoti per litteras
domini et billam indentatam 68s.5
Provenda equorum eiusdem domini ibidem et apud Constableburton
existentium per 13 dies 25s.4d.
Summa £18.0.5d.

Soluciones denariorum per warrenta.

Johanni Lurchon civi et grocero London £13. 6. 8
Willelmi Hulyn civi et piscenario London £85.18s.
Nichole Huberd clerico et Johanni Chivenhale, administratoribus
bonorum nuper Ricardi Hedon civis et vinetarii London sub commissario
venerabilis patris Archiepiscopi Cantuar £20
Willelmi Lemyng civi et apotecario London £8.13.2½
Henrici Kent civi et pannario London £31.10.6
Eidem Henrici per warrentum £20
Willelmi Waleys, civi et pykemonger London £20
Willelmi Hulyn per aliud warrentum £30
Thome Canne civi et spangilmaker London £12.13s.
Philipi Jakes civi et sellario London 105s.4d.
Willelmo Waleys per aliud warrentum £20
Bartholomi Pollard civi et grocero London £16.13.4
Summa £299.15.4½

Solucio denariorum ad manus domini.

11 May hoc anno £80
8 Augusti hoc anno £80
In precio decem pullorum biennatorum mas et 7 pullorum annatorum
mas liberato Johanni Lucas £19.16.8
Summa: £179.16.8

Summa omnium solucionum et allocacionum £575.19.2

Et debet £643.19.4½

De quibus

Respecta.

Respectuatur ei £15.16.8 in compoto suo huius anni disallocatos solutos pro factura de novo unum walle Humbre.
Et 100s solutos Priori domus Fratrum Predictatorum Beverlaci pro celebratione mille missarum pro domino erga iter suum versus Cales.
Et £25.15.2 solutos Hugoni Somervyle in anno proximo precedente per diversas acquietates.
Et 68s.4½ solutos Willelmi Lemyng hoc anno
Et £30 superius cneratas infra summam Rentale de precio multonum venditorum Johanni Pigge de Hulle.
Et £43.8.4 de precio lane huius anni venditi Hugoni Clyverow
Et £20 liberatas ad manus Johannis Constable, armigeris.
Et £120 solutas diversis personibus creditorum subscriptorum:
Matheo Philip 20 m., Hugoni Somervyle £40, Alexandri Heysaunt £20, Willelmi Chattok, executori testamenti Johannis Huett, draper, 20 m., Bartholomi Pollard 66s.8 et Thome Batard £30.

Summa respectuata £263.8.6½

Et remanent ultra £380.10.10.

De quibus solutum diversorum creditorum in London per ———

[d a m a g e d]

(g) Indentures

Indenture for Thomas Willoughby, valet: SRO/D641/1/2/231ml1

Humfrey, count de Stafford seigneur de Tunbrigge et de Cauz a toutz iceux qⁱ cestes nos presentz lettres patentz venieunt et ~~sereunt~~ ^{pourront} salut. Sachiez nous que pour la bon et gerable service que nostre bien ame valet Thomas Willoughby nous ad fait et ferra luy avoir done et graunte un annuell fee de quatre marcz apprendre annuellement pour termine de sa vie et destre paieez de lez revons de nostre seigneurie de Tunbrigge per les mains de nostre Rescevoir illoeqes pour le temps esteantz sy donoms qu maundement a touz nos tenentz baillifees ^{et autres} ~~quanties~~ nos ministres illoeqes que a dit Thomas soient entendantz aidantz et consuantz a toutz temps en tesmoignauntz de quele chose a ycestres noz presentz lettres patentez a nous fait mettre nostre seall donne le ioure et an suisdit: viz in persolucione eiusdem annuitatis sue a predicto 15 die August dicto anno 7 usque festum sancti Michelis anno regni eiusdem domini Regis 9 scilicet per testificacionem et super hunc compotum liberatum et in filacione memorande istius compoti remanente 59s.10¾d. [15 August 1429-30 September 1430.]

Indenture between Humf. Stafford and Philip Chetwynd: Wrottesley, Chetwynd Cartulary, p. 312 -3

Humfrei, Count de Stafford, Sieur de Tunbrigge & de Cauz a tous ceulx qⁱ cestes noz presentes lettres patentz verrount ou oyrount saluz. Sachiez vous que pour le bon & agreable service qe notre chier & bien aime Esquier Phelip Chetewynd a nous ad fait & ferrai en temps avenier luy avoir donne & graunte un annuel fee de ~~XII~~ marks, a prendre annuellement pour terme de sa vie de nostre manoir & seigneurie de Barleston denz le Counte de Stafford, as deux termes de lan etc.

Donne souz notre seall le vingtisme jour de Decembre lan du reigne le Roy Henry sisme Xme. [1431]

Indenture with Sir Edward Grey: NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 25.

This endentur made betwene ye right worshipfulle Lord Humfrey, Erle of Buk etc. on ye one partye & Seigneur Edward Gray knight on ye other party witnesseth yat ye said earle hathe yove & graunted by these present endentures to ye sayd Seigneur Edward an annuel fee of an C mark to take yearly duryng the lyf of ye said Seigneur Edward wherof ye paiement of 40 m. shalbe cese unto ye tyme yat God pleseure ye sd. Sire Edward to ye estat of Baron so yat he shall take of ye said erle during ye tyme he standeth at ye degre of bachelor £40 yerely and whan he is at ye stat of baron an C m. yerly to have & take of ye lordshippys of Okeham in ye counte of Rutland & Tyso in ye counte of Warwick bi ye hands of ye Receivour, farmer baylif provosts & other ministres & occupiers therefor ye tyme being at ye termes of St. Michel & Estren be even porccions for ye whiche ye said erle hath witholde toward him ye said Sir Edw to do him service terme of lyf in maner and forme as followeth:

That ys to wite in pece & werr yat for ye tyme of pease ye said Sir Edward shalbe redy at all dayes whan he schall be send for or commanded to come to ye seyde Erle upon resonable warnyng to do him service and with him to ride in all parties on this side of ye see with 1 escuier 3 yemen 1 grome 1 page & 7 hors or as many persons and horses as ye seid Erle liste to assigne or commaunde for ye tyme he standeth at ye degre of bachelor & whanne ye seid Sir Edw. at ye stat of baron he schall have with hym 2 escuiers 4 yemen 1 grome 2 pages & 10 horses or as many persons & horses as ye said erle in tyme of pees list to commaunde or assigne for ye which he schall have suche bouche of court & livere during ye tyme of his demure as is covenable to his degre or astat with resonable costes in comyng to ye seyde Erle & retournyng ayen as ofte tymes as he is send for bi ye said Erle and in cas yat yd. seid Erle be ordeyned in any voiage of warre be it on this side of ye see or beyond in ye service of ye king or sovereyn lord or of any other ye said Sir Edward schall be redy upon resonable warning with suche nombre of men of armes and archers as ye seyde Erle shal assigne or appointe according to his degre or estat to be accompaigned with him well & suffisantly armed horsed & arayed after ye maner & feet of ware for ye which armes & viage ye seid Sir Edward shall take of ye seid Erle such wages & reward for him & his seid men so accompaigned with him as ye seid Erle schall take of ye king or any other his capitaine with shippyng and reshippyng resonable for him his seid men & horse as other of his degre or estat schall have in ye compaignye of ye seid Erle the whiche viage during ye seyde Erle shall have of ye seid Sir Edward the thriddes of all maner prisoners & of all other prises & wynnyns bi him taken & ye thriddes of ye thriddes of his souldiers of ye prisoners prises & wynnyns bi hem taken or geten bi wey of fortune oyavente of werre & ye seid Sir Edward nor non of his men so accompaigned with him schall putte ne prisoner bi hem or any of hem taken at any tyme duryng ye sayd viage to finance nor ransom but as law of armes woll. In witness wherof ye seid Erle to on part of these present endentes toward ye seid Sir Edward remaynyng hath putte his seal and to ye other part of ye same endenture toward ye said Erle remaignyng ye said Sir Edw. hath putte to his seal. yeven at London ye 20 day of Averylle the yere of ye regne of Kyng Henry ye sixte after ye conquest ye 18th 1440.

Indenture as Captain of Calais with Sir Humfrey Stafford, Lieutenant:

NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 53

This endenture made betwene ye right mighty prince Humfrey Erle of Buk^{ingham} etc Capitaine of the towne of Calais & Lieutenant for ye kyng our sovereign lord of ye marches of Picardie on ye one partie & his right trusti & welbeloved cousin Sir Humfrey Stafford knight on ye other partie witnesseth yat ye Sa^d Sir Humfrey etc. with holde toward ye seid Erle in ye estate of his Lieutenant upon ye good safeguard of ye said town in maner & forme as followeth.

That is to wite fro ye 21 day of October last passed for the terme of a yer next following & fully complet for which sauf gard ye said Sir Humfrey shall have with him in wages 8 men at armes on foot everych at 8d. a day & 10 archers on foot everyche at 6d. a day all persons able & sufficient for ye werre & ye said Sir Humfrey shall have for himself 2s. a day & 20 m. of reward accustomed and also ye same Sir Humfrey shall an £100 in reward for dispences of his houshold to take ye said wages & rewards for him & his men in maner abovesaid by the handes of the Tresorer of werres of ye seid Erle there for ye tyme being in such maner & forme as ye seid Erle shalbe payd for theme of ye kyng of which payment ye seyde Sir Humfrey shall receive for him & his men ye 3rd peny in convenable victualls at such price as they shall be worth at Calais ye tyme of ye delivere of yem or yef ye seid Tresorer of werres may not perform ye 3rd peny in victualle as it is before he shall perform it in money what yat shall faille therof. And also ye seid Sir Humfrey shall be redy at all tymes upon resonable & duhe warnyng to make ye mostres venus & revenues of his seid men of his retinue whan he shall therto be legued before ye Tresorer & counceille of Calais or any other persons be our said sovereign lord or ye said Erle therto comysed or assigned & ye said Sir Humfrey hath undertake to abide & dwell there contynually in his propre person for terme of ye seid whol yere & no loonger upon ye said saufgarde of ye seid town it trewly & saufly to kepe to his pouair & to ye worship & profit of ye seid erle withoute it to deliver to any person of ye world sauf only to ye kyng our seyde sovereign lord or to ye seyde erle or be ye expresse & certain comaundement of hem or on of hem be there lettres under their gret sealle during ye seid yer. And thanne ye seid erle wolle and granteth yat it be laefull to ye said Humfrey to depart & be discharged with any other particular discharge these present endentures notwithstanding
In witness wherof aswell ye seyde Erle as ye said Humfrei to these present endentures enterchangable have put ther sealles at Calais ye 5 day of Novembre ye yer 21 [1442].

Indenture of service betw. H., E. of Buck. & Sir Philip Chetwynd:

Wrottesley, Chetwynd Cartulary, p. 318

This endenture made betwene the ^{right} worshipfull Lord Humfrey, Erle of Buck^{ingham}, Hereford, Staff^{ord}, North^{ampton} & Perche on the oon parte & Sir Phelip Chetwynd, kt. on the other partie witnesseth that the said Erle hath goven & graunted bi he present endentures to the seid Sir Phelip an annual fee of ~~20~~ to take yerely during the lyf of the seid Sir Phelip of the issues, proffits & revenus comyng of the lordship of Holderness bi the hands of the Resceivor of the seid Erle there for the tyme being, at the termes of Estien & Sint Michell, bi even portions for the which annual fee the seid Erle had withholde toward him, the seid Sir Phelip for terme of his life to do him service to fore all

other in pees ^{and} & werre, in such maner & forme as followeth, that is to wite, that in tyme of pees the seid Sir Phelip upon reasonable warnyng shall be redi at all tymes whanne it shall like the seid Erle to comaunde him to come to his presence to ^{and} in all parties & places on this side of the see to do him service & with him to sojorne ^{and} & ride with as many men ^{and} & horses, moir or fewer as the seid Erle liste to comaunde or assigne reasonably after the degree & power of the seid Sir Phelip, for the which the same Sir Phelip shall have suche bouche of court ^{and} & liverie of the seid Erle, for him, his seid men ^{and} & horses, during the time of his demure in the presence of the seid Erle, as other of his degree shall have ^{and} & take in the houshold of the seid Erle with reasonable allowance of his costes, for his comyng ^{and} & returning hom agen as often tymes as he is sende for or comaunded to com bi the seid Erle. And in caas that the seid Erle be ordeined in viage of werre be it on this side of the see or beyonde, the seid Sir Phelip shal be redi upon reasonable warnyng to go with the seid Erle in the seid viage with such nombre of men of arms & archiers, well ^{and} & sufficiently harmed, horsed ^{and} & araied after the fut of werre as the seid Erle shall liste to assigne or appointe according to his degree, for the which the seid Sir Phelip shall have for him his seid men of arms ^{and} & archiers accompaigned with him, such wages ^{and} & reward as the seid Erle shall take of the Kyng oure Soverain lord, or of any other his capitane duryng the seid viage, with skypeson ^{and} & reskypeson reasonable for him, is seid men ^{and} & horses, such as other of his degree shall have, in the compaignie of the seid Erle, ^{and} & the seid Erle shall have of the seid Sir Phelip, the thrides of all maner Prisoners, Prises & wynnyngs to hym taken or giten by the way of Fortune & aventure of werre & the thrides of the thrides of all maner Prisoners, Prises ^{and} & wynnynges bi any of his seid men then accompaigned with him, taken or geten by way of Fortune or aventure of werre, during the seid viage. And the seid Sir Phelip nor non of his men so accompaigned with hym, shall putte no prisoner bi him or any of his men, taken or geten, to fynauce nor ransom but as law of armes woll. In witnesse whereof the parties aforesaid to these present endentures enterchaungeably have putte there sealles
Written at London, the 13th day of Fevrier the yer of the reigne of Kyng Henry the sixt after the conquest, the twenty second [1444].

Indenture of service between Humfrey, Earle of Buck., Captain of Calais & Sir Philip Chetwynd, Lieut. of the Ca. of Calais. 22 H. VI:

Wrottesley, Chetwynd Cartulary, p. 319

This endenture made betweine the right mighty prince Humfrei Erle of Buk^{ingham}, Heref., Stafford, North. & Perche, Lord of Brekenoc ^{and} of Holdernesse, Capitaine of the town & Castell of Caleis on the one partie, & Sir Phelip Chetwynd kt., on the other partie, witnesseth that the seid Sir Phelip is witholde toward the seid Erle in the Estat of his Lieutenant of the seid Castel upon the good sauferde of the seid Castell bi the maner & forme following, that is to wite, fro the day that he entereth ^{and} & receiveth the seid Castell ^{and} & putte in record of our books for such time & terme after as it shall like the seid Erle, for the whiche sauferde the seid Sir Phelip shall have continually dwelling in the seid Castell himself as a man of armes on foot, ^{xxix} 29 men of armes also on foote, ^{xx} 20 archiers on foot, whereof the seid Sir Phelip shall have of his oughne retinu ^{xx} 2 men of armes on foote ^{and} & ^{four} 4 archiers on foote & the seid Sir Phelip shall have of wages for himself 16d. ^{vi} a day & for everyche of his seid men of armes ^{vi} 8d. a day

and for evereche of the seid archiers ^{ad} a day, bi the handes of the Tresorer of werres of the seid Erle there for the tyme being, ^{and} the seid Sir Phelip shall have for him, his wyf, ^{and} a gentilwoman with here, ^{and} a gentilman ^{and} yeoman, ^{and} is seid retinue, bouche of Court & £20 of especial reward for an hool yer for himsel, or reward after the afferant for the time that he occupied or shall occupie to be paid thereof bi the handes of the seid Tresorer, and the other ^{three} persons of the retinue of the seid Sir Phelip shall paie for their bouche of Court, like as other souldiers shall after their degree in the seid Castell everyche for his parte after the affiant of the expense of the household of the seid Erle there to be deduct ^{and} rebated of their wages aforesaid, ^{and} the seid Sir Phelip shall be bounde to observe, keepe ^{and} fulfillle all the covenants ^{and} articles contened ^{and} especified in the endentures between the Kyng oure Soverain Lord ^{and} the seid Erle made touching the governaunce ^{and} saufgarde of the seid Castell ^{and} the seid Sir Phelip shall also be redy at all tymes upon reasonable warning to make his moustre of his seid men of his retinue whanne he shall thereto be required before such persone or persones as it shall like the seid Erle to comytt or assigne and also the seid Sir Phelip therefor to dwelle continually in his proper person, upon the saufgarde of the seid Castell, it trewly ^{and} safely to keepe, to the worship ^{and} proffit of the seid Erle, withoute it to delyver to any person of the world, sauf only to the Kyng or to the seid Erle, or to the expresse or certain commandment or of oon of them bi their especiall lettres under their great sealles; and during the whiche tyme that the seid Sir Phelip shall occupie, there shall no persone nor persones entre into the seid Castell of noon estat, but that the seid Sir Phelip shall be of pouair ^{and} puissance at all tymes the seid Castell saurly ^{and} sauffy to keepe in maner abovesaid, but all onely that the Kyng or the seid Erle be there in his propre persone ^{and} the seid Sir Phelip shall have skypeson ^{and} reskypeson resonable for him, his seid men ^{and} herneys for his first comyng to the seid Castell, ^{and} for his departing at the end of his terme, at the ordinaunce of the seid Erle, ^{and} at what tyme the seid Sir Phelip woll departe, or be discharged of the office of Lieutenance aforesaid he shall geve warnyng to the seid Erle bi a ^{quarter} of a yer afore. In witnesse whereof as well the seid Erle as the seid Sir Phelip to these present endentures, enterchaungeably have putte there sealles. Geven at London the 13 day of Fevrier the yer of the reigne of Kyng Henry the sixte after the conquest the ^{twenty second} 1447.

Indenture between Humfrey Stafford and Matthew Goughⁱ⁾ as bailly and captain of Perche: NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 78

Ceste endenture fait par entre treshaute et puissant prince et meme tresredoubte Sire le Duc de Bukingham, count de Hereford Stafford, Northampton et du Perche, Seigneur de Brecon de Tunbrig de Caus du Chatoorneuf en Thurieran lefort Frauncoys et la forti Barnard dune parti et Mathei Gogh esquier dautre part tesmoigne que mondsur le duc au jourdy retenu et retient par ses patentes ledit Mathei Gogh son bailly du dit Perche et capitaine de Bellesme tant que lui plerra durant ces patentes thienes en autres teles oufs qui serrons stés avecques la retenu et nombre de 10 launces et 30 archers cest assoire 3 lances et 15 archers tantz a chival et 3 lances et 15 archers a pie bien et sufficient montes armes et habillie et han en son ordre et auxi quil appart pour la quelle retenue mon dit sire le duc veult et ordeigne que le dit bailly et capitaine ait et preigne par les mains

du receivour dudit Perche pour le paiement des gages et soulds de ses lances et archers cest assavoir pour chacun archer a chyval huit livres tournous par mois, pour lances a pie 100s tournous et pour chacun archer a chyval 4 livres et pour chacun archer a pie dix souldres a comence du date de loure moustres.

Pour meulx sustenir son estat avecque ce aura et prendra par an 20 livres sterling.

Ledit bailli et capitaine serra tenu du bien et loialment garder et maintenir ledit place de Bellesme etc.

London 27 June 1445.

i) A Welshman, Lieutenant of Shrewsbury 1429 in campaign against Joan of Arc (Ramsay, Lancaster and York, I, p. 396). In 1444, was in command of a contingent of York's army to support the Dauphin against the Swiss in Alsace (truce arranged with France in 1444, leading to betrothal of Margaret of Anjou to Henry VI). Was one of the commissioners appointed to receive Le Mans and Maine from the Marquess of Dorset and hand them over to Charles VII in July 1447 (Jacob, Fifteenth Century, p. 479). Gough promised surrender of Le Mans and Maine in January — extended to February 2. Siege of Le Mans began February 13, Gough being held rebel to own master. After final formal protest, Gough surrendered Le Mans on March 16. In 1449, was a French resurgence in Normandy and Charles VII entered Rouen on November 10. Ten days later Gough surrendered Bellesme to the Duke of Alençon. In 1450, took part in the final effort of the English for the relief of Normandy under Kyrielle at Formigny.

In May-June 1450, Lord Scales commanded to enlist soldiers returning from Normandy to deal with the rising in Kent. Scales and Gough led an attack from the Tower on London Bridge and Gough was killed (Ramsay, Lancaster and York, II, pp. 62, 81-2, 100; 105; 127).

Indenture with Thomas Edmund: NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 99

Endenture betwene Humfrey Stafford and Thomas Edmond fescian for £10 during his life from Gloucestershire. The said Thomas shall be redy at all tyme when it shall like ye said duc to command him to come to his pleseur to and in all parts and places on this side of the see as beyond to do with him service and with him to sejiourne and ride with 3 horse, a yoman and a page for which ye said Master Thomas shall have of ye said duc for his said passage and horses such bouche etc as before

Letters patent 21 Jan. 1449.

Indenture between Humfrey Stafford and William Fiennes, Lord Say and Sele: NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 104

Indenture of retinue of William Fiens, Knight, Lord Sey and Sele for £10 fee during his life out of ye revenu of ye office of Constable of ye Castell of Dover and Warden of ye five ports and ye said Lord Say to doe ye duc service to fore all other except our soveraigne lord ye king and his heires in manor following viz he shall ride

with ye Duc in all places this side ye see with competent fellowship according to his estat or such as ye seid Duc shall assign him to do him service.
a^o 29 [1450-51].

Extracts of indentures entered in the Redd Book of Caus: NLW Peniarth

MS 280

fo. 35

This endentur made betwene ye right worshipfull Lord Humfrey Erle of Buk on ye one party and John Curson esquire on ye other party etc. of £10 annuel fee for Retynue payeble out of ye manor of Navesby in Northampton' on this side of ye sea with two yemen a page and four horses or as many persons and horses as etc. as before.

Lettre dormant de John Curson esquire le dit endenture.

fo. 35

The like to Sir Richard Vernon knight of annuel fee of £20 during life of ye seid Sir Richard out of ye manor of Rokeby in Warwickshire and ye seid Richard to be redy at all tymes when he shalbe sent for to com to ye seid erle upon resonable warning to doe him service and with him to ride in all parties countrees and places of this side ye see with a gentleman 4 yemen a page and 7 hors or as many persons and hors as ye erle liste to assigne or commaunde resonably for ye whiche he shall have such bouche of court and liverie duryng ye tyme of his demure as other take of his degre in ye household of ye said Erle with resonable costes allowed to ye seid Sir Richard in his comyng to the seid Erle and returnyng agen as often as he is sent for by ye Erle aforesaid. In witness etc. yeven at London ye laste day of October anno 19 [1440].

fo. 43

Indenture betwene Humfrey Erle of Stafford on ye one party and John Maynwaryng knight on ye other party etc. of £10 annuel fee from ye manor of Rothwell, Nottinghamshire and ye seid Sir John shalbe bound for life to serve ye seid erle before all other in peece and warre in maner and persone etc. In peece ye seid Sir John shalbe redy at all tymes when he shall be sent for to come to ye seid erle upon resonable warning to come to all places and all parties in England with men and hors to ye number assigned by ye seid erle, resonably according to the degre and power of the seid Sir John, he to have bouche of court and lyve for him, his men and horses during the time of demure in the presence of the seid erle with reasonable allowance of the costes of comyng and returnyng home agen.

In case of warre this side of ye see or beyond, Sir John shall be redy upon resonable warning to go with the seid erle in the seid voyage with a number of men at armes and archers sufficiently armed and arrayed as many as Humfrey assignes according to his degre for whiche he shal have for himself and his men as ye seid erle shall take from the kyng or any other his capitaigne during the seid voyage, with shippyng and reshippyng resonable for him and them with the rewardes and ransomes as before.

Stafford Castle 5 May a^o 20 [1442].

fo. 43

Like to Sir Geffrey Warburton from ye same manor £10.

fo. 43

Endenture in like form to John Hanford knight, 26 October a^o 20
/1442/ from Thornbury.

fo. 43

Endenture to Rauf Egerton esquier for 10 marks for life of Rauf from
Bradley, Staffords. to do ye Erle service afore all other on this
side ye see etc. with as many men and horses.

fo. 43

Endenture of John Dutton esquier from Caures with like fee.

fo. 43

Endenture of William Stanley esquier from Caurs with like fee.

fo. 43

John Savage esquier from Thornbury with fee 10 marks.

fo. 43

John Davenport esquier from Navesby.

fo. 43

Robert Legh esquire for same fee from Colston Basset.

fo. 43

John Bouchier esquier in forme above written for an annuell fee of
10 marks from Caurs.

fo. 44

Hugh Venables of Kynderton esquier for 10 marks from Thornbury.

fo. 44

Robert Grosvenour esquier from Thornbury 9 September.

fo. 44

John Doun esquier from Wolford 10 marks.

(h) List of fees wages and annuities from the dorse of the valor for

1441-42: SRO D641/1/2/17

m 2 d.

Feoda diversorum Senescallorum allocatorum per compota ministrorum
de anno infrascripto *viz. videlicet*

Thome Arblastar, Senescalli dominij de Atherston	40s.
Johannis Harper, Senescalli dominij de Tyso	40s.
Willelmi Heton, Senescalli dominiorum de Radclyff et Colston	26s.8
Ricardi Wilby, Senescalli dominij de Rothwell	£4
Willelmi Stonham, Senescalli dominij de Kymbolton	40s.
Willelmi Rokewode, Senescalli dominij de Welles et Shiryngham	40s.
Henrici Drury, Senescalli dominij de Desnyngge (pro termino Pasche)	5m.
Ricardi Alrede, diversorum maneriorum in ^{comitate} Essex	10m.
Nicole Assheton, Senescalli in Calylond	13s.4d
Thome Haydok, Senescalli diversorum maneriorum in Sutht.	40s.
Johannis Bridde, diversorum maneriorum in Comitatu Wiltes.	100s.
Johannis Abrahale, Senescalli in Brecon	£20

Summa £51

Diversa alia feoda diversorum Senescallorum cum feodis diversorum Receptorum Auditorum Constabulorum Castrorum Capellariorum et ballivorum libertatorum allocatorum in compotis diversorum Receptorum ut infra *viz: videlicet*

Thome Arblastar vicecomitis dominij de Newport	20m.
Thome Leny Constabulis Castri ibidem	5m.
Eiusdem Thome Receptoris ibidem	45m.
Johannis Jorce Receptoris dominij de Brecon	10m.
Eiusdem Johannis Constabularis Castri ibidem	10m.
Willelmi Weldon, Auditoris ibidem	£10
Capellani infra Castrum ibidem	43s.4d
Johannis Percyvalle, Constabulis Castri de Huntingdon	10m.
Johannis Newland, Constabularis Castri de Hay	7m.
Willelmi Burley, Senescalli dominij de Caus	8m.
Madoc ap Cadwalader, Subsenescalli dominij de Caus	40s.
Humfridi Cotes Receptoris ibidem	66s.8d
Johannis Heton, Generalis Receptoris	10m.
Willelmi Weldon Auditoris	£10
Hugonis Erdeswik, Senescalli in ^{comitate} Staffordie	5m.
Humfridi Cotes Receptoris ibidem	10m.
Rogeri Clerk Clerici curie ibidem et in Comitatu Warrewikie	4m.
Willelmi Heton Constabuli Castri de Okeham	10m.
Rogeri Brereley Clerici curie ibidem et in Comitatu Notinghamie	4m.
Ricardi Lassy Receptoris dominij de Holderness	100s.
Johannis Lathbury Auditoris ibidem	4m.
Clerici curie et wapentachi ibidem	13s.4d
Edwardi Colston, capellani capelle ibidem	£4
Willelmi Hexstall, Receptoris in Kancie et Surriche	100s.
Johannis Bamburgh, Senescalli ibid.	46s.8d
Johannis Gaynesford Senescalli in Surriche	26s.8d
Henrici Vane camerarij de Tonbrig	40s.
Ricardi Salter ballivi libertatis locatus ibidem	20s.

Summa feodorum predictorum £133.10s.

Vadia diversorum Receptorum, Auditorum appruatorum Janitorum parcariorum et forestariorum subscriptorum allocatorum in supradictis compotis Receptorum ut infra ultra vadia diversorum huiusmodi parcariorum allocata per compota diversorum ministrorum deducta ut supra quorum patent inferius *viz: videlicet*:

Generalis Receptoris hoc anno	£18.16.8d
Auditoris in diversis partibus Anglie et Wallia	£16.13.4d
Nichole Poyntz Receptoris in Gloucestrie, Sutht et Wiltes	£ 8. 2.8d
Thome Mille, parcarij parci de Haresfield	60s.8d
Predicti Nichole Poyntz parcarij parci de Estwode	60s.8d
Janitoris Castri ac Custodis Castri de Caus	60s.8d
Willelmi Randolf parcarij parci de Postern et Cage	£ 4.11s.
Johannis Judde, parcarij parci de Northfrith	£ 4.11s.
Johannis Cory Janitoris Castri de Tonbrig	60s.8d
Hugonis Godewyn parcarij parci de Blechingle	£ 4.11s.
Johannis Kene parcarij parci australis ibidem	£ 4.11
Janitoris Castri Brechonie	60s.8d
Johannis Newton parcarij parci australis de Brustwik	60s.10d.
Petris Grymston parcarij parci borealis ibidem	60s.10d
Thome Leny apruatoris terrarum dominicalium de Newport	60s.8d

Summa vadiorum predictorum £86.2.4d

Feoda diversorum parcariorum et aliorum subscriptorum allocata per
compota ministrorum ultra vadia allocata per compota Receptorum
viz. videlicet

Thome Whatton parcarij parci de Maxstok	60s.8
Willelmi Clerk warennarij de Tisho	40s.
Ricardi Nicholson, parcarij de Fleterys	60s.8
Johannis Dogode, parcarij de Kneshale	60s.8
Johannis Heywode, parcarij de Newenton	20s.
Johannis Cokeyn, parcarii de Kymbalton	£4.11s.
Willelmi Crowland parcarii de Desnyng	60s.8
m 3 d.	
Willelmi Smart parcarii parci de Wittell	£6. 1. ^{16d} 4
Willelmi Marchall parcarii de Horsfrith	£4.11s.
Ricardi Bury custodis warenne de Wittell	60s.8
Willelmi Cornysse parcarii de Hatfield	60s.8
Roberti Whitgreve parcarii de Stafford	60s.8
Johannis Pykyn parcarii de Madeley	60s.8
Johannis Westbury parcarii de Mynsterley	60s.8
Willelmi Hare unius forestarii foreste de Caurs	40s.
Johannis Madeley alterius forestarii ibidem	60s.8
Hugonis Goman alii forestarii ibidem	60s.8
Johannis Catour parcarii parci de Morleywode apud Thornbury	40s.
Eiusdem Johannis custodis manerij ibidem	40s.
Ricardi Grenewey parcarii parci de Huntington	60s.8
Et in liberacione eiusdem	43s.4
Capitalis forestarii foreste Brechonie	£4

Summa feodorum predictorum £66.14.8

Annuitates et feoda diversis militibus armigeribus, valectis et
aliis personibus subscriptis per litteras domini patentes concessa.

Domine Anne Comitisse Buk etc.	100m. ^{£100}
Johanne Bourghchier, armigeri	40m.
(que non solvit hoc anno)	
Edwardo Grey militi	£40
Ricardo Vernon "	£20
Johanne Constable "	£20
Johanne Manwaryng "	£10
Galfrido Warberton "	£10
Johanne Hanford "	£10
Johanne Asteley "	20m.
Griffith Vaghan "	5m.
Radulfo Egerton, armigeri	10m.
Johanne Dutton "	10m.
Willelmo Stanley "	10m.
Johanne Savage "	10m.
Johanne Davenport "	10m.
Roberto de Lye "	10m.
Johanne Burgh "	10m.
Hugoni Venables "	10m.
Roberto Grovenour "	10m.
Johanne Doune "	10m.
Reginaldo Moton "	£10
Thome Trussell "	£10
Johanne Curson "	£10
Ricardo Witherton "	£10
Willelmi Parkyns "	10m.
Johanne Harpour "	10m.

Roberto Whitgreve, armigeri	10m.
Ricardo Hotoft "	100s.
Nicole Poyntz "	10m.
Thome Mille, "	10m.
Willelmi Palmer "	10m.
Thome Arblaster "	100s.
Johanne Hampton "	10m.
Willelmo Rokewode "	10m.
Waltero Hakeluyt "	10m.
Kynardo de la Bere "	10m.
(que non solvit hoc anno)	
Johanne Skidmore "	10m. (que non solvit hoc anno)
Ricardo Culpeper "	100s.
Johanne Andreux	10m.
Ricardo Dounham	10m.
Roberto Frampton	£10
Elizabeth Drury	£20
Domine Phillippe Peshale	5m.
Willelmo Draycote	5m.
Isabelle Verney	100s.
Andre Danyelle	100s.
Johanne Parker, cook	4m.
Willelmo Smert	5m.
Nicole Parker	5m.
Willelmo Cook	5m.
Willelmo Barbour	5m.
Johanne Barbour	5m.
Ricardo Moldworth	5m.
Hugoni Calverley	4m.
Humfrido Clarkson	4m.
Willelmo Sandebache	40s.
Johanne Brewode, trumpettori	4m.
Willelmo Bere "	40s.
Johanne Curray, "	4m.
Edwardo Wynter "	4m.
Radulfo Vykers	40s.
Johanne Grymsby	40s.
Roetardo Muser, phisici	£4
Gartier Regi armorum	40s.
Thome Willoughby	4m.
Hans de stabulo	40s.
Willelmo Sleherst	40s.
Johanne Kynge	5m.
Jacobo Romaine	£4
Thome Barston	5m.
Johanne Carbonell	60s.8
Ricardo Moyne	40s.
Ricardo Buryell	40s.
Ricardo Spenser	40s.
m.4d.	
Willelmo Tresham	40s.
Nicole Assheton	40s.
Nicole Radeford	40s.
Johanne Markham	40s.
Miloni Skulle	40s.
Willelmo Bamburghe	20s.
Johanne Portyngton	40s.
Johanne Holme	40s.

Johanne Vampage
Johanne Yelverton
Thome Higham

40s.
40s.
40s.

Summa annuitatum et
feodorum predictorum £565.14s.

APPENDIX IV:

Biographical Notes on the Auditors, Receivers and
Stewards of the Estates in England and Wales¹

Auditors

HENRY NORMANTON, clerk.

He is named as auditor of Stafford's estates on the Cause account of 1423-24, where his home would appear to have been in Derbyshire (SRO D641/1/2/241m1), and it is likely that he became auditor immediately after Stafford received livery of his estates in February 1423. He was already a royal auditor in South Wales (Cal. Pat. Rolls 1422-29, pp. 25, 264). He was one of Stafford's itinerant justices in Newport in 1432 (SRO D641/1/4U/2m1) and probably retained the office of auditor until 1435.

WILLIAM WELDON, esquire.

Of Longford, Herefordshire. He was appointed auditor on 12 March 1435 at an annual fee of ten marks (SRO D641/1/2/15m6) which was increased to £20 on 1 October 1440 (SRO D641/1/2/18m6). In addition, he had expenses of 3s. per day, increased in 1440 to 3s.4d., while he was travelling on Stafford's affairs. His importance in the administration is evident from his rate of pay.

Like Normanton, Weldon was a professional auditor, who combined service to Stafford with his employment by the Crown. In May 1437 he was appointed, during pleasure, one of the two royal auditors in the lands of the principality of South Wales. His commission was extended in 1438 to cover North Wales, the earldom of Chester and the marcher lordships of Chirk and Powys (Cal. Pat. Rolls 1436-41, pp. 44, 181, 302). He was still employed as a royal auditor as late as 1465 (Cal. Pat. Rolls 1461-67, p. 429).

1. Except where stated otherwise, references are to the relevant entry in J. Wedgwood, History of Parliament: Biographies 1439-1509.

He probably remained as Stafford's auditor until Stafford's death in 1460, but from 17 August 1457 he had a colleague, Thomas Rogers, with whom he shared the work and the £20 per annum fee (SRO D641/1/2/23m6).

JOHN LATHBURY.

He is named on the 1441-42 valor as auditor in Holderness (SRO D641/1/2/17m2d). His name does not appear elsewhere in the accounts.

He was a royal auditor in the Duchy of Lancaster, North Parts, from 1440. He died in 1447 (Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, p. 435).

THOMAS ROGERS.

Of Watton, Yorkshire. In 1447, Rogers became Stafford's auditor in Holderness lordship at a fee of four marks per annum (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 90). In 1457 he became more closely associated with Weldon, taking over the auditing work in the receiverships of Kent and Surrey and Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Hampshire (PRO SC6 1117/10m9). His letters patent of office were renewed, at the same fee of £6.13.4, by the Duchess Anne after Stafford's death in 1460 and on the same account he is referred to as Accountant of the Great Household (SRO D641/1/2/182, m7d). By 1463-64 he had been replaced as auditor by one John Gunter (PRO SC6 1117/11m4).

No details of his life and career, apart from his service to Stafford, are known.

The Receiver-General's area

THOMAS BARBOUR.

c.1375-c.1441/42. In 1413 he is described as Thomas Barbour, "yeoman, of Stafford", and he was wearing the Erdeswick livery. By 1430

he had risen to the rank of gentleman in Stafford's service. He was coroner for Stafford borough in 1413 and for Staffordshire in 1416 and member for Stafford borough in 1402, 1411 and 1413. He was escheator for Shropshire in 1434 (Wedgwood, "Parliamentary history of Staffordshire," p. 160).

Barbour is named as Receiver-General on the Cause account of 1423-24 (SRO D641/1/2/241m1) and it is likely that he was made Receiver-General immediately after Stafford received seisin of his estates in February 1423. According to the Stafford receiver's account for 1437-38, he had been in receipt of an annuity of ten marks since 1 May 1429 (PRO SC6 988/12m10d). He accounted as receiver of Stafford himself in this year 1437-38, having been replaced as Receiver-General in April 1437 by John Heaton. He apparently remained in Staffordshire for another year, until replaced by Humfrey Cotes in 1439.

In 1427, he was a feoffee for Stafford in the settlement of a large number of manors (Cal. Close Rolls, 1422-29, p. 318) and in April 1430 he and John Colet, receiver in Kent, were Stafford's attorneys for the delivery of seisin of manors in Kent to Richard Vernon, Thomas Arblaster and John Harper (Ancient Deeds, VI, p. 264).

JOHN HEATON, esquire.

1415-1469. Of Newton Blossomville, Buckinghamshire. He was appointed Receiver-General of all manors, castles and lordships on 21 April 1437 (SRO D641/1/2/15m1). His fee was ten marks per annum and from 1446 he was granted an allowance of five marks (SRO D641/1/2/21m9). He remained Receiver-General for Anne of Buckingham after Stafford's death in 1460. He was still in office in 1467-68 and probably retired soon afterwards (Cal. Pat. Rolls 1467-71, p. 72). He died in 1469.

He served as escheator in Northamptonshire and Rutland in 1439-40 and in Warwickshire and Leicestershire in 1455-56. He was member for

Buckinghamshire in 1449(1) and 1450 and a justice of the peace there from October 1456 until July 1469. He also served as sheriff for Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire between 1458 and 1460. He was receiver for Lord Grey of Wilton in 1448.

Stewards (in alphabetical order)

RICHARD ALRED.

d. 1448. Steward of various manors in Essex in 1441-42 (SRO D641/1/2/17m2d).

He was Receiver-General of the Duchy of Lancaster from December 1437 to 1445, and a justice of the peace in Essex (Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, p. 398).

THOMAS ARBLASTER, esquire.

1400-c.1458. Of Longdon, Staffordshire, a lawyer. He was son and heir of Thomas Arblaster, a retainer of Edmund, earl of Stafford, and Constable of Caldicote Castle for Anne Stafford in 1406-07.

He was indented for service in defence of Calais in 1435 (PRO E404 52/11; E101 71/883). He was member for Staffordshire in 1426, 1432, 1433, 1435 and 1439-40, and a justice of the peace for Staffordshire from February 1439 until March 1460, on commissions there from 1448-59, the last being a Lancastrian commission of array. In November 1454 he was one of the twelve squires in attendance in the king's reduced Household.

As a lawyer, he was often employed by Stafford. From before March 1434 until July 1450 he was Steward of Machan and sheriff of Newport and Wentloog (Glam. R.O. D/DCM/45m9), and from May 1438 until the 1450 Act of Resumption he was steward of Atherston manor, Warwickshire (SRO D641/1/2/269m2d). He received an annuity of £5 per annum (SRO D641/1/2/17m3d).

He held Packington manor in Staffordshire from Stafford free of rents from 1428 until his death (SRO D641/1/2/54m2d).

He was a feoffee for uses in 1430 (Cal. Close Rolls 1429-35, pp. 357-8) and in 1435 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, p. 186), an itinerant justice in Newport in 1432 (SRO D641/1/4U/2m1), a councillor at Maxstoke in April 1443, and employed on Stafford's affairs in Lichfield in 1445-46 (SRO D641/1/2/54m10, /56m11).

From internal evidence from the accounts, Arblasten was dead by 1458 - see page 292.

JOHN ARUNDEL, esquire.

Steward in Cornwall c.1453 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 106), receiver there in 1456-57 (SRO D641/1/2/23m5). He was commissioner for array for Cornwall in December 1459 (Cal. Pat. Rolls 1452-61, p. 557).

EDWARD ASHTON.

1430-82. Of Callington, Cornwall, a lawyer. Recorder of Launceston in 1460, member for Truro in 1467-68, for Taunton from 1472 until 1475 and for 1478. He was pardoned in December 1468. He was made a justice of the peace for Lostwithiel in 1468, for Cornwall in December 1469, until November 1470, and commissioner of array in Cornwall in 1473.

He was steward of Callington in 1447-48 (Longleat MS 6411, m4d).

He was the son of Nicholas Ashton (see below).

NICHOLAS ASHTON.

1395-1466. Of Callington, Cornwall, serjeant-at-law. He was a Justice of Assize by May 1443, and a Justice of Common Pleas by July 1448.

He was member for Liskeard in 1421, for Helston 1422, 1423, 1425, 1427, for Launceston in 1431 and 1432, for Helston and Truro 1435, for Cornwall 1439-40. He was summoned as Justice of Assize from 1445 until 1463-5. He was a justice of the peace in Cornwall and neighbouring counties.

He was steward of Callington in 1441-42 (SRO D641/1/2/17m2d) and was in receipt of an annuity, "pro consilio", from Callington, from 6 November 1438 (SRO D641/1/2/15m6).

WILLIAM CARISBY.

Steward of Wedonbeck, Northamptonshire from c.1443 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 63). Nothing further is known.

WILLIAM CLARK.

Steward in Nottinghamshire in 1449 (PRO SC6 954/11m2).

HENRY DRURY.

Probably he came from East Anglia as he was sheriff for Norfolk and Suffolk in 1428 and escheator for these counties in 1427, 1433 and 1440.

He was Stafford's steward of his manor of Desenyng in Suffolk from January 1440 and also parker and warrener there until c. August 1442 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 23). He was a feegee for Stafford in 1427 (Cal. Close Rolls 1422-29, p. 318) and in 1441 (Cal. Pat. Rolls 1436-41, p. 527). He may have died c. 1441-2 as his widow was granted 20 marks in 1441-42, for as long as she remained a widow (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 51). She also received £20 as a lady of the Household in 1441-42 (SRO D641/1/2/17m3d). In 1444-45 she was holding the manor of Berningham in Suffolk, worth £20 per annum (SRO D641/1/2/18m3).

ROBERT FENNE, esquire.

1415-80. Of Exton, Rutland and Barton Seagrave, Northamptonshire, a lawyer. Of the Chancery 1446-60; ranger of Salcey 1446-79.

He was a commissioner in Rutland from 1449 until the Lancastrian commission of array in December 1459, a justice of the peace in Rutland,

and of the quorum from November 1448 until November 1470. He was sheriff of Rutland in 1449-50, 1453-54 and 1458-59. He was pardoned in 1455, 1462 and 1468 and retained on the bench by the Yorkists but removed at the Readeption.

He was steward of Oakham in Rutland from November 1455 (SRO D641/1/2/266mld).

JOHN GOLMASTON, esquire.

1405-59. Of Frinton-on-Sea, Essex. Elector in Essex in 1429, 1435, 1449(2), member for Essex in 1445-46, and 1449(1), sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire in 1452-53, justice of the peace in Essex from January 1457 until November 1458 and on all Essex commissions between 1436 and 1456. He was pardoned in January 1459.

He helped William Waynflete to found Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1448.

He was appointed steward in Essex in c.1447 at five marks per annum (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 93).

JOHN HARPER.

c.1395-1464. Of Rushall, Staffordshire. He was member for Stafford borough in 1419, 1420, 1421(1), 1422, 1423-24, 1425, 1427-28, 1429-30, for Staffordshire in 1431 and possibly 1459, 1460, 1461-62. After he ceased to sit in Parliament in 1431, and while Stafford was at the height of his power, he filled the following posts: justice of the peace from 1430 until his death, escheator in 1429-30, 1433-34, and 1440-41. From 1447 until 1464 he seems to have been chairman of the Staffordshire bench as his name heads the lists (Wedgwood, "Parliamentary history of Staffordshire," p. 193).

In 1461 he was made royal auditor in South Wales and Gloucestershire (Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, p. 445), and in 1462 he became

auditor of the king's accounts for the lordship of Brecon during the minority of Stafford's heir (Cal. Pat. Rolls 1461-67, p. 91).

He was Stafford's auditor in Wales by 1440 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 35), but the date of this appointment is unknown and may well have been as early as c.1423. He was steward of the lands of Anne Stafford from 1428 (BM Add. Ch. 19858), and steward of Stafford's manors of Tysoe from November 1438 and Rugby from at least 1438-39 (SRO D641/1/2/269mn4,5). He was a feoffee to uses for Stafford in 1435 (Cal. Close Rolls 1435-42, pp. 357-8; Cal. Pat. Rolls 1436-41, p. 466), and in 1441 (Cal. Pat. Rolls 1441-46, p. 527), and acted in that capacity for the rest of his life (Cal. Pat. Rolls 1446-⁵²49, pp. 78, 133; 1461-67, p. 91).

He was also steward of the Abbey of ^{St.} Werburgh of Chester at Weston on Trent in 1444 (J.S. Roskell, The Commons in the Parliament of 1422 (Manchester, 1954), p. 189).

JOHN HAYDON.

He was appointed steward of Sheringham and Wells manors in Norfolk c.March 1447 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 89). Nothing further is known.

WILLIAM HEATON, esquire.

1395-1457/9. Of Oakham, Rutland. He was possibly a relation of John Heaton, the Receiver-General. He was sheriff of Rutland in 1451, escheator in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire in 1438, member for Rutland in 1442, and a justice of the peace for Leicestershire from 1424 until 1457.

He was steward in Nottinghamshire by 1433-34 (PRO SC6 954/11m1), and for Nottinghamshire and Rutland from January 1440 until 1449, and also Constable of Oakham Castle (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fos. 23,34).

THOMAS HIGHAM.

Steward of Desenyng from c. August 1442 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 52). He was still there in 1447-48 (Longleat MS 6411m4d). He was granted 40s. "pour estre de counsell" from Desenyng in May 1441 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 39). Nothing further is known.

ROBERT OLNEY, esquire.

1410-75. Of Weston-Bozon, Buckinghamshire. Member for Buckinghamshire for 1442, 1449-50, a justice of the peace in Buckinghamshire from December 1441 until July 1459, sheriff in Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire for 1452-53, elector there in 1449(1) and 1450. He was pardoned in 1455 and January 1459 but was removed from the Buckinghamshire bench in July 1459. However, he was on the Lancastrian commission of array there in May 1460. He was sheriff of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire during the Readeption period from 1470-71, until Edward IV's restoration.

He was steward in Buckinghamshire from c. 1447 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 93) until at least 1452 (SRO D641/1/2/254), steward of the Honour of Gloucester in Buckinghamshire in 1447-48 (Longleat MS 6411m4d), and steward in Bedfordshire from c. November 1453 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 112).

WILLIAM PARKINS, esquire.

He must have been Olney's predecessor as steward in Buckinghamshire from c. October 1443 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 67). He received an annuity of ten marks in 1441-42 (SRO D641/1/2/17m3d). Nothing further is known.

WILLIAM ROOKWARD, esquire.

Steward of Wells and Sheringham in Norfolk in 1441-42 (SRO D641/1

/2/17m2d). He was replaced by 1447 when John Haydon was appointed to this post. He received an annuity for good service from January 1440 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 23). Nothing further is known.

ROBERT STAUNTON.

Steward in Nottinghamshire from November 1453 (PRO SC6 954/11m1d). He was a commissioner of array in Leicestershire in December 1459 (Cal. Pat. Rolls 1452-61, p. 557). Nothing further is known.

WILLIAM STONEHAM.

He was steward of Kimbolton in 1441-42 at £2 per annum (SRO D641/1/2/17m2d). Nothing further is known.

JOHN WATKIN.

He was steward in Buckinghamshire in 1447-48 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 93). Nothing further is known.

RICHARD WILBY.

He was steward of Rothwell in 1441-42 at £4 per annum (SRO D641/1/2/17m2d).

Stafford receiver's area

Receivers

HUGH STANFORD.

b. c.1365. Of Hexstall, Staffordshire. He was member for Bridgnorth in 1411 and 1413, for Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1420, 1421(2), 1422 and 1423-24. He was possibly a lawyer. He is mentioned as a feoffee for uses in Staffordshire in 1402, and as eschaetor in 1403-05. He was deputy-sheriff in 1413-14, and in 1414 was outlawed for his debts

to his sheriff, Sir John Bagot.

The Patent Rolls describe him as "of the county of Staffordshire, alias de Wheathill, co. Salop, gentleman", but he is styled "of Hexstall, gentleman", in the Stafford Collections in 1418.

He was a royal commissioner in Staffordshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire and Shropshire in 1427, the last year in which he appears on the roll (Wedgwood, "Parliamentary history of Staffordshire," p. 197).

He was Stafford's receiver in Staffordshire from 1423-24 (SRO D641/1/2/56m11) and probably stayed until c.1432 when Humfrey Cotes is found as receiver there (SRO D641/1/2/53m1).

HUMFREY COTES.

Dead by 1454. Of Cotes in Staffordshire. He married Joanna, daughter and heiress of — Daintry, a widow. His son John was sheriff of Staffordshire in 1456-57. Little is known about Cotes apart from his service to Stafford although he was ^{escheator} ~~eschewer~~ in Staffordshire in 1422-24, 1440 and in Shropshire and the March in 1434.

By 1432 he had entered Stafford's service as receiver in Staffordshire (SRO D641/1/2/53m1), and in 1437 he replaced William Munden as Steward of the Household (SRO D641/1/2/15m1). In June 1439 he was reappointed receiver in Staffordshire (SRO D641/1/2/54m9) and was also appointed receiver in Cause (SRO D641/1/2/15m5). He remained in Cause only until 1444-45 (SRO D641/1/2/18m5) and in Staffordshire until Michaelmas 1449 (SRO D641/1/2/20m3). He received an additional annual allowance of five marks from 1445 (SRO D641/1/2/56m11).

In 1450, he led ^{more than 70} ~~some~~ yeomen from Stafford to London to wait on Stafford there (SRO D641/1/2/20m3).

ROGER DRAYCOTE, knight.

c.1410-? Of Paynsley, Staffordshire. He married a daughter of

Sir Roger Aston of Heywood. He was probably still alive in 1472 but his son had succeeded him by 1480 (Wedgwood, "Parliamentary history of Staffordshire," p. 244).

Early in 1423 he was certified by a jury to be over ten years of age in a suit for his wardship brought by Sir Hugh Erdeswick who lost the case, Draycote's mother successfully claiming that the lands were held in socage and not by feudal tenure (Carter, Notes on Staffordshire Families, p. 115).

He was eschaetor in Staffordshire in 1452-53, a justice of the peace from 1453-60 and a proscribed rebel in 1471. He was on the commission of array of December 1459 and on the commission of the peace in March 1460 in Staffordshire with many other Stafford retainers.

He became receiver in Staffordshire at Michaelmas 1449 (SRO D641/1/2/20m3) and probably remained in office until after Stafford's death as he accounted in 1460-61 (SRO D641/1/2/61m1), but he had been replaced by Michaelmas 1463 (PRO SC6 1117/11m11).

Stewards

HUGH ERDESWICK, knight.

c.1380-c.1451. Of Sandon, Staffordshire. He was the terror of Staffordshire for many years at the end of Henry IV's reign. He dominated Staffordshire at a period when the Staffords, Audleys and Dudleys were all represented by minors. He was opposed only by Ferrers of Chartley and the Duchy of Lancaster officials. He was supported by the Giffords and Gresleys and had little difficulty in securing pardons in 1411 and 1415.

He became a firm supporter of Henry V and a commissioner of the peace in Staffordshire from 1415-24 and sheriff in 1423-24, as well as member for Derbyshire in 1419 and Staffordshire in 1421 and 1433. He was possibly in the king's Household and served in the reduction of

Normandy in 1420. The quarrel with Ferrers continued in a desultory fashion for some years. He was one of the two knights of the shire who, in 1433, drew up the list of Gentry for Staffordshire.

He was on commissions constantly until 1445 and for some reason his lands were taken into the king's hands in 1443 (Wedgwood, "Parliamentary history of Staffordshire," p. 177).

The date of his appointment as steward in Staffordshire is unknown but may have been as early as 1423. He continued in office as Stafford's steward until at least 1451, when his wages were paid for the period Michaelmas 1450 to Easter 1451 (SRO D641/1/2/57m9d).

ROGER CLARK.

Clark was appointed clerk of the courts in Staffordshire in October 1439 (SRO D641/1/2/54m9). He farmed the manor of Bradley in Staffordshire. He took over the duties of Erdeswick as steward after 1451 although he continued to be paid only as a clerk of the courts on the accounts until 1460-61 (SRO D641/1/2/61m6).

A Roger Clark was paid £2 per annum as a member of the Household on the Receiver-General's account for 1438-39 (SRO D641/1/2/15m6).

Cause receiver's area

Receivers

THOMAS BARBOUR and HUMFREY COTES both held this office (see above).

HUGH CRESSET.

1400-48. Of Upton, Shropshire. He was sheriff in Shropshire in 1434 and 1445, ^{ea}eschætor in Shropshire and the Welsh March in 1426-27 and 1427-28, in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire in 1442-43. He was an elector in Shropshire in 1442 and member there in 1437 and 1447. He was

on Shropshire commissions from 1433-42. He was a member of the Duke of Exeter's council.

In 1438-39, he was accounting as the "former receiver" for Cause (SRO D641/1/2/15m6).

JOHN WITHERTON. [also spelt WODERTON in the accounts]

He was in Stafford's service as early as 1430 when he held one of the portions of Westbury church living in Cause. He held this until 1490. He also held one of the chapels at Cause (VCH Shropshire, Vol. 8, pp. 327, 310), the livings of Chipstead c.1441 and Tilbrook, Bedfordshire (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fos. 40, 44). He is referred to as "nostre bien ame chappellan" in 1445 on his appointment as receiver in Cause (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 74). He was still in office there in 1456-57.

Stewards

WILLIAM BURLY.

1390-1459. Of Brosecroft, Shropshire, a lawyer. He was member for Shropshire in 1417, 1419, 1420, 1421, 1422, 1425, 1427-28, 1429-30, 1431, 1432, 1433, 1435, 1437, 1439-40, 1442, 1445-46, 1449-50, 1450-51, 1455, 56. He was Speaker in 1437 and 1445. He was sheriff in Shropshire in 1426, eschaetor there in 1416 and 1432 and justice of the peace from 1439-53 and on many commissions in Shropshire. In 1455 he headed the deputation from the Commons to the Lords to urge York's appointment as Protector for the second period of Henry VI's illness.

He was Stafford's steward in Cause in 1441-42, at a fee of eight marks (SRO D641/1/2/17m2d).

JOHN BURGH, ^{Sr}esquire.

1414-71. Of Wattlesburgh^{borough} and Cause. He was sheriff in Shropshire

in 1441, 1448, 1452 and 1463, member there 1445, 1453 and elector in 1447 and 1455. He was a justice of the peace in Shropshire from 1449 until September 1460, on commissions from 1449 until March 1460. He was pardoned in April 1462.

He was steward of Cause from 17 March 1447 at a fee of five marks per annum (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 88). He also received an annuity of ten marks from at least as early as 1441-42 (SRO D641/1/2/17m3d).

Newport receiver's area

Receivers

THOMAS WHITGREVE.

He was probably a member of the Whitgreve family of Burton, Staffordshire, who provided other retainers in Stafford's service.

He was an itinerant justice in Newport in 1432 (SRO D641/1/4U/2m1) and receiver there by 1433-34 (Glam. R.O. D/DCM/45m9), although the date of his appointment is unknown and may have been much earlier. He had previously been in the service of the Earl of March (d. 1425), Stafford's brother-in-law, who had granted him lands and tenements to the value of £10 per annum for life in Bromsgrove, Worcestershire (Cal. Pat. Rolls 1422-29, p. 193).

THOMAS LENY.

d. 1446. Of Newport upon Usk, a merchant. He purchased the manor of Magor in Monmouthshire in 1427, later settling it upon himself and his wife with reversion, in the event of failure of heirs, to Stafford (Pugh, Marcher Lordships of South Wales, p. 294).

He was appointed approver of Newport in January 1434 (Glam. R.O. D/DCM/45m9) and constable and approver for life in Newport in March 1441 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, p. 2, no. 15). He was already receiver there by

1438-39 (SRO D641/1/2/15m6). He accounted as receiver at Michaelmas 1446 and probably died soon afterwards (NLW Tredegar MS 146m1).

HOWELL KEMEYS.

He was younger brother of William (see below), and receiver for a few weeks in 1446 after the death of Thomas Leny (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 85). He was deputy-sheriff of Newport from 1444-48 (NLW Peniarth MS 2u0, fos. 33-34).

WILLIAM KEMEYS.

d. c.1460. Of a family from Began in Glamorganshire, he was son of the master forester of Machan forest of Edmund Stafford (PRO SC6 924/18mm9-10). The family was of English origin but had settled in the March in the late thirteenth century. His father had supported Owen Glendower.

Kemeys was one of the prominent men of the lordship by 1415 when he was coroner of Wentloog; he was mayor of Newport in 1444 and 1446 at the time of his appointment as receiver. He was also Constable of Newport Castle and approver of the lordship. In 1456 he was replaced in all three offices by Morgan ap Jenkin Philip (PRO SC6 924/25m10).

He also acted as the receiver of the lordship of Ebbw in Wentloog, part of the Duchy of Lancaster estates, in 1447-48 (Pugh, Marcher Lordships of South Wales, pp. 292-3).

MORGAN AP JENKIN PHILIP.

From his name he was obviously a Welshman, but nothing is known of his career apart from his service to Stafford. He was appointed steward of Newport and Wentloog in October 1452 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 110), several years before his appointment as receiver there in February 1456. He apparently held both offices in conjunction (PRO SC6 924/25m10).

Stewards

THOMAS ARBLASTER. See above, under Receiver-General's area (p. 378).

HENRY AP GRIFFITH, esquire.

He was sheriff of Newport and Wentloog and steward of Machan from July 1450 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 101) until replaced in October 1452 by Morgan ap Jenkin Philip. From December 1451 he held the offices of steward of Brecon, Hay and Huntingdon lordships (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 106). In March 1460 he was appointed steward of the lordship of Ewyas-Lacy, forfeited by Richard of York (Cal. Pat. Rolls 1451-61, p. 554).

MORGAN AP JENKIN PHILIP. See above.

Kent and Surrey receiver's area

Receivers

RICHARD RUYTON.

Nothing is known of him apart from his service to the Staffords. He was Anne Stafford's receiver in Kent in 1406-07 (SRO D641/1/2/7m1) until c.1428, and acted as Stafford's own receiver in Kent and Surrey, probably from 1423 until c.1428 (SRO D641/1/2/231). He was mainpennor for Stafford for an enfeoffment in 1427 and witness to the 1430 enfeoffment of Tonbridge manor (Cal. Close Rolls 1422-29, p. 318; 1429-35, p. 357).

JOHN COLET.

Again, nothing is known of him apart from his service to Stafford. He was receiver from 1428 (SRO D641/1/2/231) and also Tonbridge Chamberlain and Larderer. He farmed Pympe manor from Stafford. He probably remained in office until 1438 when William Hexstall became receiver. His

wife, as his executrice, began paying off some of the arrears from his term in office in 1439 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fos. 29, 30 (1439-40); 38, 39 (1440-41); 47, 52 (1441-42); 71 (1443-44)).

WILLIAM HEXSTALL.

Of Milwich and Ashley, Staffordshire, but in 1452 he was pardoned as "of East Peckham, Kent, esquire, alias of Bramley, Staffordshire, alias late of Hexstall". He was member for Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1425, 1429-30, 1435, and for Stafford borough in 1431, 1432 and 1437, and was subsheriff of the county in 1431-32 and eschaetor in 1435-36.

In May 1438 he was appointed receiver in Kent and Surrey (SRO D641/1/2/233ml). His previous links with this area seem to have been slight although in 1435 he had become farmer of the demesne land of two Stafford manors in Surrey (SRO D641/1/2/233, mm.1d,10(s)). He developed his career in local politics in Kent, being member for Stafford's borough of Blechingley in 1449(1) and for Kent in 1453-54. In 1450 he supported Cade's rising, but was pardoned in 1452, and his support obviously did not go far enough to jeopardize his advancement in Kentish affairs. He was an elector in 1450, eschaetor from 1455 to 1457, justice of the peace from November 1455 until December 1458 and on Kent commissions from 1450 until May 1460, including the Kent commissions of array in December 1459 and early 1460. In 1454, with Stafford, he had been appointed one of the guardians of the temporalities of the Archbishopric of Canterbury (Cal. Fine Rolls 1452-61, p. 86) and in April 1455 he was summoned to the Great Council for Kent. By 1456 he was one of the four Tellers of the Exchequer.

In May 1460 he was ordered to muster at Sandwich with the Duke of Exeter to defend the shores against the Yorkists. They failed, and the earls landed at Sandwich. Hexstall, either then or shortly afterwards, joined them. He was confirmed in his office of Teller and remained

there until 1463. He was still alive in 1466 when he acted as executor of John Harper's will (see above, pp. 381-82).

See also, below, THOMAS HEXSTALL, receiver of Dover.

Stewards in Kent

JOHN BORE.

He was steward of Tonbridge between at least 1428 and 1430 (SRO D641/1/2/231). Nothing further is known.

JOHN BAMBURGH, esquire.

Of Paddleworth, Kent. He was member for Kent in 1427 and 1431. He was steward by 1441-42 (SRO D641/1/2/17m2d) and until at least 1447-48 (Longleat MS 641lm3d). He had been retained as a councillor from at least 1428 (SRO D641/1/2/23lm11).

RICHARD BROWN.

1405-61. Of Eslingham, Kent and London, a lawyer. He was member for Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1435, for Stafford borough in 1442 and 1449(1) and for Winchelsea in 1445-46. He was on Kent commissions in 1439 and from 1450 onwards. Until 1447 he was a commissioner in Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Warwickshire, and from December 1447 until 1458 a justice of the peace in Kent. He was a commissioner in Kent from 1450. He was pardoned by the Yorkists in August 1460.

He was steward in Kent from January 1450 (SRO D641/1/2/234m2). His constituencies, offices and location are all to be reconciled with his service to Stafford.

Receivers in Surrey

JOHN GAYNESFORD.

1419-60. Of Crowhurst, Surrey and Hampton Poyle, Oxfordshire.

He was member for Surrey in 1453-54, elector in 1450, and a commissioner from 1453 until 1460, including all the Lancastrian commissions of array.

He was a justice of the peace in Surrey from 1452 until January 1459.

He died on 7 July 1460.

He was steward in Surrey by at least 1441-42 (SRO D641/1/2/17m2d).

JOHN ELINBRIDGE.

1415-74. Of Merstham, a lawyer. He was member for Blechingley in 1442 and for Surrey 1450-51. He was elector in Surrey in 1449(2), 1453, 1460, 1467 and 1472. He was justice of the peace in Surrey and of the quorum from January 1457 until January 1459, from December 1460 until 1461 and from 1466 until 1473. He was on all Surrey commissions between 1452 and 1472, including those of the readeption, but not that of the Lancastrian array in December 1459. He was a feoffee for John Gainsford for Poyle manor in 1460.

He was steward in Surrey by 1453-54 (SRO D641/1/2/234m2d).

Gloucestershire receiver's area

Receivers

NICHOLAS POYNTZ, esquire.

Of Irenacton and Nympsfield, Gloucestershire. He was eschaetor there in 1424 and 1434 and member for Gloucestershire in 1431. He was closely connected with the Berkeleys of Berkeley Castle, acting for Lord Berkeley in the mortgage of Talgarth and Jonesfield manors to Stafford in 1441 (SRO D641/1/2/169). In 1440, in a fine between Poyntz, his wife and the Berkeleys, Brokenburgh and Daglingworth manors near Cirencester

were sold to Poyntz for 300 marks. On another occasion James, Lord Berkeley, borrowed 22 marks from Poyntz.

There was in the Poyntz family a tradition of service to Anne Stafford. Robert Poyntz (1359-1439), of Nympsfield, served as her steward in Gloucestershire (SRO D641/1/2/164m1). Nicholas received an annuity from her from at least 1430-31 (SRO D641/1/2/12m2). In February 1439 he was appointed receiver of the newly created receivership of Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Hampshire, and parker of Eastwood Park, with a life annuity of ten marks (SRO D641/1/2/167m8d). He remained receiver until March 1454 (SRO D641/1/2/178m1), and parker until September 1460 when he died (SRO D641/1/2/181m8d).

THOMAS BERKELEY.

He was the youngest son of James, Lord Berkeley (D. 1463). By a conveyance from his father, the manors of Daglingworth and a moiety of the manor of Brokenburgh in Gloucestershire were settled on Thomas (Smyth, Lives of the Berkeleys, p. 83). These manors were later sold to Nicholas Poyntz (q.v.) and his wife for 300 marks. Thomas was present with his father and brothers when Margaret Berkeley and her husband, John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, took Berkeley Castle in 1452 in their attempt to recover what they considered was their rightful share of the Berkeley inheritance (J. Blow, "Nibley Green 1470: the last private battle fought in England," p. 100).¹ In that year, Thomas and his brother James were apparently forced to accompany Shrewsbury to Gascony in an effort to save it from the French advance. At the battle of Castillon in July Shrewsbury, his son, Viscount Lisle, and James Berkeley were killed, Thomas Berkeley being captured and ransomed at a very high price.

1. In C.M.D. Crowder (ed.), English Society and Government in the Fifteenth Century (Edinburgh and London, 1967).

At the battle of Nibley Green he was present with his brother William, Lord Berkeley, for the single combat to which William had been challenged by Thomas, Lord Lisle, where Lisle was killed (Blow, Nibley Green, p. 107).

Berkeley probably entered Stafford's service in the 1440s as a protégé of Nicholas Poyntz, an associate and probably a retainer of his father, Lord Berkeley. He held a variety of offices — deputy to John Andreux as bailiff of the Honour of Gloucester (SRO D641/1/2/175m8), collector of Upclatford and Cornhampton manors (SRO D641/1/2/172mm6d,7) and member of Poyntz's own staff, almost as deputy-receiver in the late 1440s. He was appointed receiver in succession to Poyntz on 18 March 1454, which must have been fairly soon after his return from France (Smyth, Lives of the Berkeleys, pp. 83-84; PRO SC6 1117/9m 8d). He accounted in 1460-61 but was later replaced by John, son of Nicholas Poyntz (SRO D641/1/2/181m 8d).

Stewards: Gloucestershire

THOMAS MILLE, esquire.

1400-1460. Of Harescombe, Gloucestershire. He was member for Gloucestershire in 1435, 1439-40, 1449(1), sheriff in Herefordshire in 1435 and 1445, eschaetor in Gloucestershire in 1430-31, elector there in 1429, 1431, 1437, 1447 and 1449(2), 1450, 1453. From 1447 he heads the list. He was on all Gloucestershire commissions from 1440, including the Lancastrian commission of array in December 1459. In April 1455 he was summoned to attend the Great Council for Gloucestershire.

Like Poyntz, whose brother-in-law he was, his service to the Staffords went back to the days of Anne Stafford for he had been steward of her dower lands in Gloucestershire by 1435-36 (SRO D641/1/2/164m2d). On 16 February 1439 he was appointed steward in Gloucestershire and

parker of Haresfield with an annuity for life of ten marks (SRO D641/1/2/167m8d), and he retained both offices until the death of Stafford. He and his son were attainted for their adherence to the Lancastrian cause. Mille died c.1460. His successor as steward was one Sir William Berkeley (SRO D641/1/2/181m8).

Stewards: Wiltshire

JOHN BRIDDE.

He was steward by 1441-42 at £5 per annum (SRO D641/1/2/17m2d). Nothing further is known.

JOHN STOURTON.

c.1399-1462. Created Lord Stourton in May 1448.

He was member for Wiltshire in 1421, for Dorset 1423, and again for Wiltshire in 1425. He was sheriff in Wiltshire in 1426-27, in Hampshire and Dorset in 1428, in Gloucestershire and the adjacent March of Wales in 1432, in Wiltshire in 1433 and 1437 and again in Gloucestershire, 1439. He served on various commissions between 1435/6 and 1443.

Unlike most other Stafford retainers, his career was made at the royal court. In October 1437 he was a Privy Councillor, from July 1438 until May 1439 he was Keeper of the Duke of Orleans at Stourton. He was Treasurer of the Household before November 1446 and Surveyor of all the King's parks and forests in Wiltshire and of the castle of Old Sarum in March 1446/7. In April 1450, on Stafford's resignation as Captain of Calais, he was made one of the joint guardians of Calais for five years, and in the same year he was made a commissioner to treat for a truce with an embassy from the Duchy of Burgundy.

He obviously went over quickly to join Edward IV's side, for in May 1461 he was granted the castle of Mere in Wiltshire and custody of the King's park there. He was a commissioner in July 1461.

He was steward of Stafford's manors in Wiltshire by 1448-49 (PRO SC6 1117/8m4d), but how long he held the post is unknown.

Stewards: Hampshire

THOMAS HAYDOCK.

1395-52, a lawyer. He was elector in Hampshire in 1432, 1433, 1435, 1437, 1449 and 1450, and on many commissions between 1432 and 1449. He was steward of Odiham from 1437 until 1452. He was executor of John Freeman, an earlier (1414-15) steward on the Hampshire manors, in 1445.

He was steward between at least 1441 (SRO D641/1/2/17m2d) and 1449 (PRO SC6 1117/8m5).

THOMAS UVEDALE.

1410-74. Of Wickham, Hampshire. He was member for Hampshire in 1437 and 1445-46, for Sussex 1450-51, for Hampshire again in 1455-56. He was sheriff for Surrey and Sussex in 1437-38, for Hampshire in 1438-39, 1447-48, 1451-52, 1463-64. He was a justice of the peace in Hampshire from July 1441 until December 1470, and in Sussex from 1442 until 1458. He was keeper of Porchester Castle in 1453-54 and was knighted in May 1465.

He was steward in Hampshire by 1454-55 (SRO D641/1/2/216mm1,ld.).

Bailiffs of the Honours in Gloucestershire

JOHN ANDREUX.

Of Southam, Gloucestershire. In 1430 and 1432 he is described as "gentleman", and in 1455 as "esquire, learned in the law". He was member for Gloucester borough in 1437, 1449, 1450-51 and 1455-56, steward of Gloucester in 1432-33 and bailiff in 1450-51.

Again, Andreux was one of the men who entered Stafford's service

from his mother's service. He had been Anne Stafford's general attorney at Westminster in all courts there in 1431-32 (SRO D641/1/2/13m4) and in 1434-35 he was receiving an annuity of ten marks from Stretton St. Margaret manor. He was however Stafford's feodary in Gloucestershire by 1437-38 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, p. 2, no. 15). After Anne Stafford's death, the annuity and arrears of it from the time of her death were confirmed and paid by Stafford's warrant of November 1439 (SRO D641/1/2/167m8d). In February of that year he had been appointed bailiff of the Honours of Gloucester and Hereford in Gloucestershire and he retained the office of bailiff of Gloucester Honour until his death early in 1460. He was replaced as bailiff of Hereford Honour in 1450. He performed the duties of both offices by deputies.

As a lawyer he was frequently used by Stafford in various negotiations.

JOHN ARTHUR.

He replaced Andreux as bailiff of the Honour of Hereford in 1450 (SRO D641/1/2/175m6d) and held the office until May 1461. Nothing further is known of him except that he was executor for Thomas Mille in 1460/1 (Rudd, Abstracts of Deeds, p. 214).

Brecon receiver's area

JOHN JOYCE.

Of Hanchurch, Staffordshire. He was eschaetor in Staffordshire in 1436.

He was receiver in Brecon by 1441-42 (SRO D641/1/2/17m2d) and possibly was there from the date of Stafford's inheritance of the lordship in 1438. He was an itinerant justice in Brecon in 1440 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, p. 3, no. 30). He was made receiver and steward of Talgarth and Jonesfield manors on their acquisition (NLW Peniarth MS 280,

fo. 34) and made joint steward of Hay in September 1444 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 73). He was dead by 1454 when his son Thomas was trying to recover manors in Staffordshire from fraudulent trustees (Wrottesley, Early Chancery Proceedings, p. 251).

SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE.

1385-1461. Of Ewyas-Lacy and Kentchurch, Herefordshire. He was member for Herefordshire in 1414(1), 1414(2), 1426, 1429-30, 1433, 1445-46, 1449(1); sheriff in 1409, 1430, 1449, 1456 and for Carmarthen borough in 1424. He was steward of Kidwelly from 1401 until 1415 and from 1423 to 1433, and steward of Monmouth (Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, pp. 639-40, 647). He was a justice of the peace in Herefordshire from 1424 to 1433 and a commissioner there from 1414 to 1451.

His career was broken by his removal from the bench in 1433 because of his marriage to a daughter of Owen Glendower. He recovered his position however, becoming elector in Herefordshire in 1442 and 1447, and in April 1455 he was summoned to the Great Council for Herefordshire. He was on the 1459 commission of array there. A staunch Lancastrian, he was excepted from Edward IV's general pardon in Wales in August 1461. and probably died soon afterwards.

He was steward of Brecon by 1447 (Longleat MS 6411m3d) and receiver there in 1449-50 (SRO D641/1/2/20m1). He is probably the same as John Skidmore, esquire, who received a ten mark annuity in 1441-42 (SRO D641/1/2/17m3d).

THOMAS VAUGHAN, esquire.

Of Hergest and Kington, Herefordshire. He was a son of Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine who was killed at Agincourt, and brother of Watkin Vaughan of Bredwardine and Sir Roger Vaughan of Tretower, and half-brother to Sir William Herbert, York's Lieutenant in Wales in the 1450s, who was created Earl of Pembroke in 1468 (Dictionary of Welsh Biography, pp. 996-7).

In c.1444 he was awarded an annuity of six marks by Stafford (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 73). In 1445 he was appointed Constable of Huntingdon Castle (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 85) and on 9 January 1451 was made receiver in Brecon, Hay, Huntingdon and Talgarth and constable and janitor of Brecon Castle (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 104). He was still in office in 1457 (SRO D641/1/2/23m5).

At the Coventry Parliament of 1459 a general pardon to Vaughan, his kinsmen and neighbours was granted, an indication perhaps that Henry VI's supporters feared that this group might go over to the Yorkists, and were hoping to prevent this. In 1460 Vaughan was placed on a commission to seize the castles and manors of York and Warwick in the March in Henry VI's name. Like Herbert, however, he joined the Yorkists, and in 1461 was appointed receiver of the three lordships of Brecon, Hay and Huntingdon during the minority of the young Duke of Buckingham. He was killed at Edgecote in 1469.

Stewards

JOHN ABRAHALE, esquire.

1385-1443. Of Eton-Tregoz, Herefordshire. He was member for Hereford in 1419, for Herefordshire in 1437, 1439-40 and 1442, and eschaetor there in 1417-18 and 1439-40. He was a justice of the peace in Herefordshire from March 1437 until his death in 1443.

He was appointed steward of Bronlles Castle by Henry VI from July 1439, and was receiver of the lordship of Monmouth at the time of his death (Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, p. 650).

He was steward in Brecon in 1441-42 (SRO D641/1/2/17m2d). He may have died in office in 1443.

KYNARD DE LA BERE, esquire.

He was sheriff in Herefordshire in 1401, eschaetor there in 1438.

In 1430 he joined Henry VI's expedition to France.

He was appointed steward in Brecon in March 1443 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 56). He had been receiving an annuity of ten marks from Stafford from at least as early as 1441-42 (SRO D641/1/2/17m3d).

SIR JOHN SCUDAMORE — see above.

HENRY AP GRIFFITH — see entry for Newport stewards (p. 391).

Holderness receiver's area

Receivers

RICHARD LACY, clerk.

He was receiver between at least 1441 and 1450 (SRO D641/1/2/17m2d; PRO SC6 1304/5m3), but nothing further is known of his career.

WILLIAM ROCHE.

He was appointed steward in 1450 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 103). Nothing further is known of him.

ROBERT TWYER.

He was probably a member of a local family in Holderness, and was receiver from after April 1451 (NLW Peniarth MS 280, fos. 108, 114). He was coroner there for Stafford (SRO D641/1/2/23m5). He was still in office in 1457.

Steward

JOHN CONSTABLE, knight.

1400-1450/1. Of Halsham and Burton Constable, Yorkshire. He was member for Yorkshire in 1439-40 and 1445-46.

He is the only known steward for Holderness, and was in office there in 1447-48 (SRO D641/1/2/19m5).

Dover receiver's area

Receiver

THOMAS HEXSTALL.

He was pardoned in January 1455 as "late of Staffordshire, alias of Dover". He was brother to William Hexstall (q.v., p. 392); but there is no record of a previous career in Staffordshire as in the case of William Hexstall.

He was member for Blechingley in 1447, for Dover in 1472-5, 1478, 1483(1) and 1484, elector in Kent in 1453 with his brother Henry when they returned William Hexstall. He was a commissioner mostly in Dover and mostly under Stafford, between 1457 and 1460 and jurat of Dover in 1457-58, 1462 and 1470. He was Mayor there from 1467 to 1470, 1471-72, 1473-75, 1477-79, 1481-82.

During the Readeption, Dover paid Hexstall and two others for communing with the king's council and in 1471 Thomas Hexstall, "gentleman of Dover", received a pardon; he was again pardoned in 1472.

He was farmer of Stafford's manor of Portley, Surrey, from 1445-46 (SRO D641/1/2/233mld). He was probably receiver throughout Stafford's tenure of the office of Constable of Dover from 1450 to 1460. He is probably the same Thomas Hexstall who is mentioned as a clerk of the forinsec Household in 1444-45 and again in 1450-51 (SRO D641/1/2/18m7d; PRO SC6 1305/4m6).

APPENDIX V:

List of Retainers (This list does not include estate officials unless they also received an annuity).

* lawyers

Name	Amount	Manor	Date	Reference
* John Andreux	10m.	Stretton St. Margaret	30 Nov. 1438 (renewed)	SRO D641/1/2/167m8d
* Thomas Arblaster	£5	?	?	SRO D641/1/2/17m3d
* Nicholas Ashton	£2	Callington	6 Nov. 1438	SRO D641/1/2/15m6
John Astley, kt.	20m.	Amersham	c.1442	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 46
* Peter Ardem	£2	Hatfield	c.Jul. 1443	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 63
Richard Begot	10m.	Norton	6 Sept. 1455	SRO D641/1/2/60m9d
John Bamburgh	£1	Kent	by 1428/30	SRO D641/1/2/231m11
John Barbour	5m.	Stafford	27 Mar. 1441	SRO D641/1/2/54m9
Thomas Barbour	10m.	Stafford	1 May 1429	PRO SC6 988/12m10d
William Barbour	5m.	Stafford	27 Mar. 1441	SRO D641/1/2/54m9
Gedwalader Baugh	24s.5d.	? Cause	by 1447-48	Longleat MS 6411.m.3d
Thomas Barston	5m.	Holderness	by 1447-48	Longleat MS 6411.m.3d
Ralph Basset	10m.	Staffordshire	4 Jun. 1445	SRO D641/1/2/65m10
* Thomas Bate	£2	Atherstone/Tyso	26 Nov. 1447	SRO D641/1/2/263m2d
Kynard de la Bere	10m.	?	by 1441/42	SRO D641/1/2/17m3d
John Bourchier	10m.	Cause	c.Oct. 1442	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 43
Henry Bradbury	40m.	Writtle	4 Feb. 1443	SRO D641/1/2/18m6
Buckingham le poursuivant	10m.	Staffordshire	?	SRO D641/1/2/56m10
John Burgh	£4	?	by 1447-48	Longleat MS 6411m.2d
* Thomas Burgoyne	10m.	? Cause	c.Oct. 1442	SRO D641/1/2/17m3d
Hugh Calverley	£2	?	27 Oct. 1446	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 86
William Caron	4m.	Madeley	11 Sept. 1432	PRO SC6 983/12m10d
Philip Chetwynd	£2	Cause	15 May 1453	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 110
Richard Chokke	10m.	Barlston	20 Dec. 1431	Wrottesley, Chetwynd Cartulary,
Humphrey Clarkson	£20	Holderness	13 Feb. 1444	pp. 312 and 318
John Cokeyn	£2	Thornbury	15 May 1453	SRO D641/1/2/170m7d
John Constable, esq.	4m.	Rugby	12 Jun. 1433	SRO D641/1/2/269m5d
John Constable, kt.	10m.	Norton	1 Aug. 1454	SRO D641/1/2/59m10
William Coral	£10	Holderness	by 1447-48	SRO D641/1/2/19m5
	£20	"	"	"
	£2	Tonbridge	c.Jan. 1448	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 98

(see end)

Name	Amount	Manor	Date	Reference
Richard Culpeper	£5	Kent	30 Sept. 1440	SRO D641/1/2/234m2d
* William Cumberford	£2	Staffordshire	26 April 1443	SRO D641/1/2/54m9d
John Curzon	£10	Navesby	c.1440	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 35
* Robert Danby	£2	Holderness	c.1443	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 69
Andrew Daniel	£5	?	by 1441-42	SRO D641/1/2/17m3d
John Davenport	10m.	Navesby	c.Oct.1442	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 43
Thomas Delamare	£5	Gloucestershire	17 Jan. 1452	PRO SC6 1117/9m5d
William Denteth	£2	Staffordshire	30 Sept. 1439	SRO D641/1/2/54m9d
John Donne	10m.	Wolford	c.Oct. 1442	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 44
John Dutton	10m.	Cause	c.Oct. 1442	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 43
Hugh Egerton	10m.	Bradley	24 Nov. 1453	SRO D641/1/2/59m10
Ralph Egerton	10m.	Bradley	5 Sept. 1441	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 43
* John Enderby	£2	Kimbolton	c.Sept. 1443	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 65
William Fienes	£10	Dover	c.1450-51	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 104
Thomas Finderne	£10	Desenynng	c.1447	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 96
Thomas FitzHarry	£2	Brecon	by 1452-3	CPL Brecon Dds. 4, m7d
Richard Fourbour	£1	Staffordshire	9 Oct. 1455	SRO D641/1/2/60m9d
Robert Frampton	£10	?	by 1441-42	SRO D641/1/2/17m3d
William Frere	£10	Tyso	23 May 1455	PRO SC6 1040/15m5d
William Garnet	5m.	Staffordshire	27 Mar. 1441	SRO D641/1/2/54m9
Garter King of Arms	£2	Tonbridge	14 Mar. 1429	SRO D641/1/2/231m11
David Geffrey	£4	?	by 1447-48	Longleat MS 6411m.3d
Matthew Gough	?	Perche	27 Jun. 1445	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 78
Robert Grey	20m.	Oakham	c.Jun. 1445	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 80
Edward Grey	£40	Oakham/Tyso	20 Apr. 1440	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 25
John Gresley	£10	?	?	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 104
Robert Grosvenor	10m.	Thornbury	9 Sept. 1442	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 44
Walter Hakeluyk	10m.	Brecon	c.Mar. 1443	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 68
John Hampton	10m.	Staffordshire	1 Mar. 1442	SRO D641/1/2/54m9d
	£10	Staffordshire	13 Dec. 1444	SRO D641/1/2/56m10
John Hanford	£10	Thornbury	26 Oct. 1441	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 43
William Hare	£1	?	by 1447-48	Longleat MS 6411m.3d
* Gerald de la Hay	£2	?	c.Jun. 1445	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 74
* Richard Heaton	£2	Oakham	20 Feb. 1455	SRO D641/1/2/266m2

(see 2
end)

Name	Amount	Manor	Date	Reference
*Thomas Higham	£2	Deseraving	May 1441	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 89
*John Hody	£2	Wexcombe	25 Feb. 1437	SRO D641/1/2/167m8d
*John Holme	£2	?	1439-40	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 26
Richard Hotoft	£5	Lawford	c.1440	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 29
John Huet	£2	?	by 1447-48	Longleat MS 641m.2d
John Hunt	£2	Stanford Rivers	c.1440	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 27
John Hyndersketh	£2	Holderness	c.1451	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 109
Laurence Kay	£2	?	?	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 83
Thomas Kyriell	£40	Dover	1457	SRO D641/1/2/237m1
Robert Legh	10m.	Colston Basset	c.Oct. 1442	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 43
*Thomas Littleton	£2	Tyso	15 May 1453	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 110
Nicholas Longford	£10	Staffordshire	6 Feb. 1444	SRO D641/1/2/56m10
John Mainwaring	£10	Rothwell	5 May 1442	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 43
*John Markham	£2	Kneesall	c.1440	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 25
Thomas Mille	10m.	Haresfield	16 Feb. 1439	SRO D641/1/2/167m8d
Richard Moldworth	5m.	Staffordshire	27 Mar. 1441	SRO D641/1/2/54m9
Reynold Moton	£10	Oakham	by 1441-42	SRO D641/1/2/17m3d
*Richard Moyné	£2	Hatfield	Dec. 1440	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 37
*Walter Moyle	£2	Callington	c.Jul. 1443	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 63
*John Needham	£2	Staffordshire	15 Feb. 1455	SRO D641/1/2/59m10
William Palmer	10m.	Willsford	19 May 1439	SRO D641/1/2/167m8d
John Parker	4m.	Hatfield	c.Nov. 1441	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 45
Walter Percival	£10	Tonbridge	30 Sept. 1446	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 86
	£20	Brecon	c.1447-48	SRO D641/1/2/19m1
*Ralph Pole	£2	Staffordshire	12 Jul. 1443	SRO D641/1/2/56m10d
*John Portington	£2	Holderness	15 Apr. 1440	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 25
Nicholas Poyntz	10m.	Thornbury	16 Feb. 1439	SRO D641/1/2/167m8d
*Nicholas Redford	£2	Callington	by 1438-39	SRO D641/1/2/15m6
William Rookwood	10m.	Wells	8 Jan. 1440	SRO D641/1/2/17m3d
Richard Roos	5m.	Holderness	1451-52	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 101
John Salvayn	£10	Tonbridge	28 Feb. 1424	SRO D641/1/2/231m11
William Sandbach	£2	Rugby	c.Mar. 1434	SRO D641/1/2/269m5d
John Savage	10m.	Thornbury	c.Oct. 1442	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 43
John Scudamore	10m.	Brecon	26 Mar. 1443	SRO D641/1/2/19m1
*Miles Scull	£2	Brecon	c.1440	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 27

(see end)

Name	Amount	Manor	Date	Reference
John Slehurst	£2	Thornbury	1439 (renewed)	SRO D641/1/2/167m8d
Clement Spice	10m.	Haverhill	c.1437-38	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 22
Humfrey Stafford, kt.	40m.	Thornbury	c.1443	SRO D641/1/2/173m9
William Stanley	10m.	Cause	c.Oct. 1442	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 43
* William Tresham	£2	Rothwell ?	by 1438-39	SRO D641/1/2/15m6
John Trevelyan	10m.	Oakham	by 1447-48	Longleat MS 641m.2d
Thomas Trussell	£10	Brecon	c.1440-41	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 36
Walter Vaughn	5m.	Cause	15 Oct. 1450	CPL Brecon.Dds. 4, m.8
Griffith Vaughn	5m.	Wootton Wawen	by 1439	SRO D641/1/2/54m10
* John Vampage	£2	Thornbury	15 Feb. 1442	SRO D641/1/2/270m5d
Hugh Venables	10m.	Rugby	c.Oct. 1442	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 44
Richard Vernon	£20	Rugby	31 Oct. 1440	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 35
William Vernon	£5	Rugby	1 Aug. 1454	PRO SC6 1040/15m3
Ralph Vickers	£2	Staffordshire	10 Feb. 1441	SRO D641/1/2/54m9
William Wangford	£2	Tonbridge	30 May 1451	NLW Peniarth MS 280, m101
Geoffrey Warburton	£10	Rothwell	5 May 1442	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 43
* Robert Whitgrave	10m.	Newport	5 Mar. 1430	Glam. R.O. D/DCM/45m.9
Thomas Willoughby	4m.	Kent	15 Aug. 1429	SRO D641/1/2/231m11
	4m.	t/f Maxstoke	?	SRO D641/1/2/272m1d
Richard Witherton	£10	Desenying	c.Jun. 1441	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 41
* William Yelverton	£2	Wells	c.1440	NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 25
* Thomas Young	£2	Gloucestershire	27 Oct. 1446	SRO D641/1/2/173m9d

Charters of the borough of Newport,
(ed W. Rees), p. 3.
NLW Peniarth MS 280, fo. 23

SRO D641/1/2/20m3.

NLW Peniarth MS 280 fo. 73

by 1427

?

by 1450

c.1444

?

?

?

?

?

?

6m.

1 William Burley

2 Henry Drury

3 William Milton

4. Thomas Vaughan

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E404 Exchequer, warrants for issues
SC6 Special Collections, Ministers' Accounts
SC8 " " Ancient Petitions
SC11 " " Rentals and Surveys

(b) British Museum:-

Additional MSS 29608, 5962
Additional Charter 19858

(c) Somerset House:-

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(d) Staffordshire Record Office:-

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SC6/811 Valor, in French, of all the English Estates of Anne, Countess of Stafford, except for Holderness, for 1434-35.

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SC6 1117/9 Accounts for the ministers of Thornbury, Mare, Haresfield, Eastington, Alkerton manors in Gloucestershire, and the Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Hampshire receiver's account for 1456-57.

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Accounts of the ministers in Gloucestershire as above, with the receiver's account, for 1459-60.

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Account of the Receiver General of Humfrey Stafford for 1450-51. This covers all issues for manors within his area, but with nil returns from the receiverships.

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Additional MS 29608 Account of Thomas Garth, Treasurer of the Household of Anne, Duchess of Buckingham for 1474-75.

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c) Staffordshire Record Office.

Lord Stafford's MSS :

Receiver-General's Accounts.

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Account of the Receiver-General of issues of manors within his area, with issues from the receiverships of Stafford, Caus, Newport and Tonbridge, for Thomas, Earl of Stafford, 1390-91.

D641/1/2/6

Valor of all the estates of Edmund, Earl of Stafford, for 1400-01.

D641/1/2/7

Account of the Receiver-General of the estates of Anne, Countess of Stafford for 1406-07.

D641/1/2/8

As /7 above, for 1408-09.

/9

As /7 above, for 1409-10.

/10

As /7 above, for 1410-11.

/12

As /7 above, for 1430-31.

/13

As /7 above, for 1431-32.

/14

As /7 above, for 1434-35.

- D641/1/2/15 Account of the Receiver-General of Humfrey Stafford for 1438-39. This covers all manors within his own area, with issues of the Stafford, Caus, Kent and Surrey and Gloucestershire receiverships (but not Newport, Brecon or Holderness).
- D641/1/2/16 A valor of all the estates of Humfrey Stafford, starting with the Receiver-General's area and covering the English lordships and the lordship of Perche in Normandy for 1439-40. At least one membrane is missing.
- D641/1/2/17 A valor of the estates of Humfrey Stafford as above, with a list of monies paid to retainers on the dorse, for 1441-42.
- D641/1/2/18 Account of the Receiver-General for 1444-45. The local receiverships are no longer accounting to him.
- D641/1/2/19 Declared accounts from all local receiverships (with a stock account for Holderness) for 1447-48.
- D641/1/2/20 Declared accounts for the receiverships as above, except for Holderness, for 1449-50.
- D641/1/2/21 Account of the Receiver-General as in /18 above, for 1449-50.
- D641/1/2/22 Declared accounts for the receiverships except for Holderness and Kent and Surrey, but including an account for Dover, for 1454-55.
- D641/1/2/23 Account of the Receiver-General, as in /18 above, for 1456-57.

Stafford Receiver's Accounts.

- D641/1/2/53 Accounts for various estates in Staffordshire and Shropshire : Stafford, Madeley, Darlaston, Norton, Beech, Forebridge, Stretton, Barlaston and the lands of Hugh Stafford, Ellaston and Bridgenorth, for 1433-34. There is no receiver's account.
- D641/1/2/54 Accounts for various estates as in /53 above, without Ellaston, but including Tullington, with the receiver's account, for 1442-43. Attached is a list of petitions of the Receiver, in English.

- D641/1/2/55 Accounts for various estates as in /54 above, with Macclesfield and Boseley, for 1444-45.
- D641/1/2/56 Accounts for various estates as in /54 above, for 1445-46.
- D641/1/2/57 Accounts for various estates as in /54 with (?) Church Eaton, Gratwich, Rule and Mitton, for 1450-51.
- D641/1/2/58 Accounts for various estates as in /57 above, for 1452-53.
- D641/1/2/59 Accounts for various estates as in /57 above with Dunston and Bradley, for 1454-55.
- D641/1/2/60 Accounts for various estates as in /59 above, for 1455-56.
- D641/1/2/61 Accounts for various estates as in /59 and including Macclesfield and Blymhill, for 1457-58.
- D641/1/2/63 Accounts of Anne, Dowager Duchess of Buckingham, for estates in Staffordshire and Shropshire as in /59 above, for 1460-61.

Gloucestershire Receiver's area.

- D641/1/2/162 Accounts of various estates in Gloucestershire : Thornbury, Mare, Rendcomb, Haresfield, Honours of Gloucester and Hereford, Newnham, for 1433-34. These were estates of Anne, Dowager Countess of Stafford.
- D641/1/2/163 Accounts of various estates as in /162, for 1434-35.
- D641/1/2/164 Accounts of various estates as in /162, for 1435-36.
- D641/1/2/165 Accounts of various estates as in /162, for 1437-38.
- D641/1/2/166 Accounts of Eastington and Alkerton manors for 1437-38. These were held by Humfrey Stafford.
- D641/1/2/167 Accounts of various estates in Gloucestershire : Thornbury, Mare, Eastington, Alkerton, with the Receiver's account for Gloucestershire, Hampshire and Wiltshire, for 1439-40.

D641/1/2/168	Accounts for various Gloucestershire estates with the receiver's account as in /167, for 1441-42.
D641/1/2/169	Ministers' accounts for Rendcomb and Newnham for 1441-42.
D641/1/2/170	Accounts of various estates as in /167, for 1442-43.
D641/1/2/171	Accounts of various estates as in /167, for 1443-44.
D641/1/2/172	Accounts of various estates, as in /167, and including Newnham, for 1445-46.
D641/1/2/173	Accounts of various estates as in /172, and with a list of utensils in the hands of the receiver, for 1446-47.
D641/1/2/174	Accounts of various estates as in /172, for 1448-49.
D641/1/2/175	Accounts of various estates as in /167, for 1451-52.
D641/1/2/176	Accounts of various estates as in /167, for 1452-53.
D641/1/2/177	Accounts of Rendcombe and the Honour of Gloucester, for 1452-53.
D641/1/2/178	Declared account for Gloucestershire, Hampshire and Wiltshire, in English, for 1453-54.
D641/1/2/179	Declared account for Gloucestershire, Hampshire and Wiltshire, in Latin, with the declared value of the manors and arrears of all ministers and the receiver, listing debtors under each estate, for 1457-58.
D641/1/2/180	Declared account as in /179, for 1458-59.
D641/1/2/181	Accounts of various estates as in /167, in the hands of Anne, Duchess of Buckingham, for 1460-61, with an account of bad debts.
D641/1/2/216	Accounts of the estates of Petersfield, Mapledurham, Comhampton, Upclafford, Wexcombe, West Bedwind, Kinwardeston, Willsford, Smallbrook, Littleton, Drewe, Stratton St. Margaret, and Orcheston in Hampshire and Wiltshire, for 1454-55.

Kent receiver's accounts.

- D641/1/2/231 Account of the Tonbridge receiver, covering also the Surrey estates. This account has no supporting ministers' accounts but contains a great deal of local material for the various estates. It runs for two years, from 1428-30.
- D641/1/2/233 Accounts of various estates in Kent and Surrey: Tonbridge, Blechingley, Ockham, Brastead, and the feodary's account, together with the receiver's own account, for 1445-46.
- D641/1/2/234 A single membrane of the receiver's account for 1453-54, obviously incomplete.
- D641/1/2/236 Declared account of the receiver of Dover and a declared value of the office of constable of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports, for 1456-57.
- D641/1/2/237 Declared account and valor as in /236 for 1457-58.
- D641/1/2/238 Declared account of the receiver as in /236, for 1459-60.

Caus and Worthyn account.

- D641/1/2/241 The final membrane of a longer roll, giving the discharge of the Caus account and part of a bailiff's account for Worthyn borough for 1423-24.

Ministers' accounts.

- D641/1/2/264 Accounts for the manors of Hackleton and Peddington and the Honour of Gloucester in Northamptonshire, for (?) 1440-41.
- D641/1/2/265 Ministers' accounts for Oakham, Eggleton and Langham in Rutland, for 1437-38.
- D641/1/2/266 Ministers' accounts as /265, for 1459-60.
- D641/1/2/269 Ministers' accounts for the Warwickshire manors of Maxstoke, Atherstone, Sheldon, Rugby, Lawford, Welford, Wootton Wawen, Wolvey and Morton Bagot, for 1438-39.
- D641/1/2/270 Ministers' accounts for various estates as in /269, including Tyso and Whatcote, with the feodary's account, for 1442-43.

- D641/1/2/271 Ministers' accounts for various estates as in /270, for 1444-45.
- D641/1/2/272 Ministers' accounts for various estates as in /270, for 1449-50.
- D641/1/2/273 Ministers' accounts for various estates as in /270, for 1450-51.

List of Duke Humfrey's creditors on 1 March 1446
D641/1/3/3.

Account of the Treasurer of the Great Household of Humfrey, Duke of Buckingham, at Writtle and Maxstoke, for 1452-53.
D641/1/3/4.

Stafford Chartularies DL721/1/1, 11.

d) Longleat House (muniments in the possession of the Marquess of Bath.)

Longleat MS 6411. Valor, in Latin, of the estates of Humfrey Stafford, for 1447-48, with a list of payments to retainers on the dorse.

e) National Library of Wales.

Tredegar MS 146. Accounts of the ministers of Rumney, Pencarne, Dowlais, Stowe, Dyffryn, Wentloog and Machan, with the receiver's account, for 1446-47.

Peniarth MS 280. Redd Book of Caus: a journal of transactions of the estates, beginning on 30 August 1434; the last dated entry is for 1454/5. The contents are miscellaneous in character: receipts for homage, appointment of officials, orders for payment of money, presentation to benefices, grants of annuities, acquittances.

f) Glamorgan Record Office, Cardiff.

D/DCM/45 Accounts of ministers of Newport lordship, with the receiver's account, for 1434-35.

g) Cardiff Public Library.

Breconshire Deeds 4. Ministers' accounts for various estates in Brecon lordship, with the receiver's account for 1453-54.